Late Medieval and Early Modern Studies, 18

Old Worlds, New Worlds

European Cultural Encounters, c. 1000 - c. 1750

Edited by
Lisa Bailey, Lindsay Diggelmann, and Kim M. Phillips

Brepols

Old Worlds, New Worlds

LATE MEDIEVAL AND EARLY MODERN STUDIES

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VOLUME 18

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Leaving the old, both worlds at once they view,
That stand upon the threshold of the new.

—Edmund Waller (1685)

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Introduction

Lisa Bailey, Lindsay Diggelmann, and Kim M. Phillips

When speakers of the English language first met with the neologism, *encounter*, around the turn of the fourteenth century, they are unlikely to have foreseen its utility for future generations. Taken from the Old French *encontrer* and derived in turn from its prefix plus the Latin *contra*, against — thus, we might say, 'in opposition to' — they first used it to refer to hostile meetings or violent clashes, particularly on fields of battle. Users had to wait at least two centuries for more neutral usages—'to come across', 'to happen upon', or simply 'to meet with'.[1] Even while their language was thus developing, English speakers along with the inhabitants of all the countries of Western Europe were experiencing 'encounters' with places and peoples across the shrinking globe, in the flesh or vicariously through text. It would be unwise to designate a point of origin for the phenomenon of European expansion (would one begin with the Greeks in Persia? Romans in North Africa? Celts in Anatolia?), but the second millennium of the Common Era saw the dramatic development and consequences of Europe's expansionary tendencies.

This collection examines a diverse range of moments of contact between Europe and the rest of the world from around 1000 down to around 1750. We end, therefore, just before the relatively short but devastating heyday of European colonialism in the nineteenth century. While our time frame does take in the first wave of formal Western imperialism, in the Americas, part of our aim is to extend the efforts of scholars who have sought to displace 1492 as an originary moment in histories of European encounters with the world. In addition, we seek to explore forms of encounter both within and beyond explicitly colonial contexts.

[1] *Oxford English Dictionary*, 2nd edn (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989), s.v. 'encounter' *n*. and *v*.

The current strength of postcolonial theory in the humanities places emphasis on unequal relationships of domination and subjection in the story of Europeans in the wider world. While we by no means dispute the essential role of postcolonial approaches in revising a traditionally Eurocentric historiography, we find value in directing attention to texts and contexts which express a broader range of Western responses to new peoples and places. 'Encounter' best expresses this diversity. Encounters may be voluntary, or forced. The parties may be on an equal footing, or representative of profound inequities. Handled badly, or with ill intent, encounter can result in diplomatic incidents, shows of aggression, or violence on a grand scale. Handled well, or with an attitude of enquiry rather than condescension, it can be transformative. While encounters often serve primarily to form a sense of unity or selfhood in opposition to 'Others', at other times they offer opportunities to gain knowledge or to take pleasure in difference.

Stories of European encounters with the world have been the subject of some of the most invigorating work in medieval and early modern scholarship, as scholars have grappled with the issues of travel, missions, trade, diplomacy, colonization, conquest, conversion, exoticism, race, violence, misunderstanding, and the revolutions in mentalities which grew out of these moments. It would be impossible to list here all of the relevant and important works, many of which are anyway discussed in individual papers. A few works, however, give a taste of recent trends. In the medieval arena, Janet L. Abu-Lughod, J. R. S. Phillips, Robert Bartlett, and Jerry H. Bentley have made important contributions to the study of European expansion and cultural contact in the high and late medieval eras.[2] Monographs and edited collections by Mary B. Campbell, Scott D. Westrem, Jeffrey Jerome Cohen, and Richard F. Gyug are notable among more recent studies which pay particular attention to the construction of non-European locations and peoples through language and visual representation, while a collection edited by Rosamund Allen offers new perspectives on travel to the Holy Land and Near East.[3]

[2] Janet L. Abu-Lughod, *Before European Hegemony: The World System A.D. 1250–1350* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989); J. R. S. Phillips, *The Medieval Expansion of Europe*, 2nd edn (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998); Robert Bartlett, *The Making of Europe: Conquest, Colonization and Cultural Change, 950–1350* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993); Jerry H. Bentley, *Old World Encounters: Cross-Cultural Contacts and Exchanges in Pre-Modern Times* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993).

[3] Mary B. Campbell, *The Witness and the Other World: Exotic European Travel Writing, 400–600* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1988); *Discovering New Worlds: Essays on Medieval*

Works dealing with early modern exploration are also too numerous to list. For our interest, however, the important point is simply to notice the dominant shift away from the old paradigm of discovery to newer approaches which emphasize encounters and the mutual impact of European and non-European peoples. David E. Stannard's *American Holocaust* recounts in devastating and controversial detail the consequences of Old World mentalities exported to the New; Eviatur Zerubavel's *Terra Cognita* traces the slow yet fundamental changes in mentality that followed on the discovery of a New World which challenged the geographical preconceptions of the Old; and the essays in *Implicit Understanding*, edited by Stuart B. Schwartz, argue that each party to unexpected encounters held implicit ethnographic views of cultural and ethnic others that reveal just as much about their views of themselves.[4] An important collection of essays edited by Stephen Greenblatt gives snapshots of how Old World authors struggled to represent their experiences of the New to audiences 'back home'; while Patricia Seed's *Ceremonies of Possession* delineates failed attempts to communicate and illustrates the variety of ways in which Old World visitors sought to 'translate' ceremonies of meaning to the new peoples they encountered.[5] Increasingly, scholars have concluded that cultural encounters through this period shaped definitions of self through opposition to the other, that community was often the result of contrast and exclusion, and that their reactions to the unfamiliar reveal for us some truth about the nature of those we study. It is no longer a story in which Europeans discover others. It has become a story in which Europeans uncover themselves.

And yet, scholars have made this sea-change in discrete units. Early modernists do not usually look far backwards and medievalists do not always look far forwards. Those who study the encounters in the Americas have had relatively little

Exploration and Imagination, ed. by Scott D. Westrem (New York: Garland, 1991); *The Postcolonial Middle Ages*, ed. by Jeffrey Jerome Cohen (New York: St Martin's, 2000); *Medieval Cultures in Contact*, ed. by Richard F. Gyug (New York: Fordham University Press, 2003); *Eastward Bound: Travel and Travellers, 1050–1500*, ed. by Rosamund Allen (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004).

[4] David E. Stannard, *American Holocaust: Columbus and the Conquest of the New World* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992); Eviatur Zerubavel, *Terra Cognita: The Mental Discovery of America* (New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 1992); *Implicit Understanding: Observing, Reporting and Reflecting on the Encounters between Europeans and Other Peoples in the Early Modern Era*, ed. by Stuart B. Schwartz (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994).

[5] *New World Encounters*, ed. by Stephen Greenblatt (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1993); Patricia Seed, *Ceremonies of Possession in Europe's Conquest of the New World, 1492–1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995).

to say to those who study encounters in the Pacific, or in Asia, and the reverse has also been true. Those who study literature, who study history, who study objects, all have tended to look to their own source materials for inspiration, or to a select few influential works from other disciplines. It is testament, indeed, to the fertility of the theme of encounter that it has proved to be of such interest to so many different groups. This collection brings them together, in hopes of furthering analysis by encounter of a scholarly kind as well.

Accordingly, this collection has been assembled with an eye to breadth. This breadth is manifested in several different ways. Most obviously, it can be seen in the time period covered, from the eleventh to the eighteenth centuries. A conclusion which emerges not only from the collection as a whole, but also in concrete form in several individual pieces within it, is that drawing a dividing line between the medieval and the early modern eras is artificial and results in significant losses. Not only does it preclude the study of continuities, but also of interesting moments of discontinuity and change, which do not always conveniently coincide with historical periodization. Early modern encounters did not happen *ex nihilo* and medieval encounters had important post-histories. Both sides of the temporal divide have much to learn from the approaches and assumptions of the other. The terms 'Old World' and 'New World' have therefore here been broadly defined. They do not refer only to Europe and to the realms Europeans encountered after 1492 — the processes of travel, encounter, conquest, and colonization were well established long before this time. Also, certain essays will examine cross-cultural relationships within the geographical boundaries of Europe itself, to show that curiosity, conflict, and transformation could occur as a result of such meetings just as they did in more far-flung realms.

Breadth is also evidenced in geographical scope. The terms 'Old World' and 'New World' most often evoke contact between Europeans and the people of the Americas, and this encounter is the theme of several papers in the collection. Other papers, however, look at other new worlds, some far overseas (Australia, Tahiti), some far overland (Mongolia, China), some closer to home but strange nonetheless (Armenia, Sicily, Cyprus). This broadening of perspective reminds us that the most famous meeting of cultures in the Americas did not take place in isolation, nor was it necessarily the defining moment. It was one part of a broadly spread sequence.

Neither is 'encounter' itself narrowly defined. Some of the encounters described in this collection are physical, set in motion by travellers, missionaries, diplomats, traders, would-be conquerors, and settlers. Encounters could also take place, however, without leaving home. Pre-existing ideas and ways of viewing the

world could suddenly encounter the challenge of the mere existence of places and peoples which they could not accommodate, and which required either the adaptation of the comfortable certainties of before, or their replacement with entirely new interpretations. Encounters could also take place within the imagination — fictional moments of cultural contact aimed to educate, titillate, or critique the peoples of the Old World to whom they were described. Encounters could take place on Old World soil, with objects and products brought over from the New. Encounters could even be with the narratives which made this reverse journey — stories and texts produced by Old World people, but coming out of their New World experiences. And encounters could also be with people who were not wholly strange or unknown, but who nonetheless operated within a 'different world', in terms of their cultural context. All of these were less obvious, but they were no less dramatic or revelatory for that.

Finally, the collection is also broad in terms of the kinds of sources used by the authors and their styles of analysis. Papers draw on travelogues, geographies, maps, artefacts, histories, philosophical treatises, and utopian satire, among other things. Many of these have not been explored in great depth before, while others are familiar, but are here revisited in new and different ways. Contributors adopt a mix of approaches — empirical history and the history of ideas sit alongside postcolonial theory and the history of sexualities. The result is a complex picture of how scholars think about the encounters of the past.

Despite all of this variety, the collection makes clear that there are certain patterns which can be seen. Techniques of othering and community-creation have a long history and a wide cultural applicability. Yet this is not a simple story of continuity or the eternal character of human interactions. The collection gives a complex sense of the relationships between medieval, early modern, and modern understandings of issues such as race, culture, and humanity. It also makes clear that encounters were specific. Those involved drew on the past in shaping their actions and perceptions, but nothing about their responses was determined. Each meeting between cultures or peoples described in the following pages was a product of its particular circumstances. Each was a moment new unto itself.

The collection begins with a cultural collision which was, relatively speaking, close to home: that between the armies of the Third Crusade and the Greek populations of Sicily and Cyprus. Little attention has been paid to these encounters, relative to those between the crusaders and the Muslims or even the Greeks who lived in the heart of Byzantium, yet Lindsay Diggelmann shows that they not only follow similar patterns, but were in some respects even less forgiving or understanding. These were people who were not wholly 'new' to Latin Christian

society, and who might be expected to be more familiar. This is not reflected in the sources, however, which treat conflict with those they termed 'Grifons' as a part of their crusade against the enemies of Christ. This, Diggelmann argues, was a necessary part of the crusader effort to forge a community for themselves, out of a group of disparate and often divided people. The denigration and dehumanization of the Grifons therefore acted to create counter-images of noble warfare and good kingship which expressed the ideals the crusaders held for themselves. So important was this goal that it held true both for those who wrote from direct experience and those who wrote from home — perception of the Grifons was not influenced primarily by the actual reality of encounter, but by the categories which were brought to it by the Western Europeans involved. This was a central part of the attempt to create a 'New World' in the crusader kingdoms of the twelfth century.

The crusades also form the backdrop to the contribution of Christopher MacEvitt, but the experiences he describes are different. MacEvitt tells the story of the Armenian people, scattered and forced into exile by the tumults which began in the eleventh century, encountering Byzantines and Franks, but encountering also their own history and trying to forge from this a New World which made sense to them. He takes as his central case study a curious tale about a Byzantine archbishop, his dog, an Armenian king, and an act of revenge. This tale was retold numerous times by different authors through the twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries. Each telling marked a shift in Armenian historical memory, until it ended up being told in Old French, by a Frank who shared the Armenian experience of exile and alienation in a foreign land. The central story itself was one of cultural encounter and antagonism between Armenians and Greeks but it is the repeated encounter with the narrative which most interests MacEvitt. From this he teases out his own tale of efforts at community formation through interactions with the other.

Kim Phillips's contribution takes the collection even further east, exploring encounters, both real and fictional, between Western Europeans and the peoples of the 'Orient' between the thirteenth and the fifteenth centuries. Her focus is on the representations of Oriental sexualities in the accounts written by those who described this old 'New World' — long known in theory, but little known in practice. Phillips's starting point is with historical and anthropological scholarship which explores the sexual habits and characteristics of foreign peoples as key to their construction of 'otherness', and queries whether medieval travel writers employed the same tactic in representing the peoples of Asia. She finds, contrary to some other commentators, that modern Orientalist tropes of lasciviousness and

effeminacy are not dominant in the medieval texts, which offer a more layered, varied account of Eastern sexualities than has sometimes been assumed. Encounter, Phillips reveals, is particular and specific, and in this instance the pre-colonial context, authorial intentions, and audience tastes must be taken into account. Generalizing about its character can lead us astray.

The particularity of encounter is also a theme of Heather Dalton's piece on the sixteenth-century English explorer Roger Barlow. Barlow produced the first firsthand account of the New World in English, but his text is still largely unregarded by scholars. In part this is because Barlow does not fit within the established narrative of English exploration history, but it is also because his text is based on an earlier Castilian work. Dalton shows, however, that Barlow drew on his own particular experiences in the New World in translating this text — modifying, deleting, and adding material which reflected his interests as well as his changing views of the lands and peoples he described. The result is a double encounter: Barlow's physical one with these strange new lands and his literary one with the text he transforms. The established convention is in constant dialogue with the particular view.

Some peoples of the Old World reacted to the revelation of the New by adapting and reaffirming traditional paradigms of thought. Others concluded that the New World disproved the old worldviews and required an entirely new structure to accommodate and explain it. This dichotomous reaction in the sixteenth century is the subject of the piece by Daniel Brunstetter, who compares the philosophical works of Sepúlveda with those of Montaigne. Here the encounter between the Old and New Worlds sparks an encounter between two views of humanity. Sepúlveda projected the Aristotelian view of 'natural slaves' onto the peoples of the Americas, and thereby affirmed a proper cultural hierarchy, while Montaigne saw the Amerindians as 'natural men', and used them as the basis for a relativistic view of truth and morality which made all men into equals. Neither had encountered the New World firsthand, and both had the same 'facts' before them, but their conclusions were radically different. Nothing was determined about their responses, but Brunstetter argues that their divergence marks the beginning of a new era of philosophical reflection which would be a 'New World' unto itself.

Karen Jillings also traces the response of the Old World to the strangeness of the New, here focusing on the reception of tobacco in Europe in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Jillings describes how Old World people sought to understand and interpret this novel product, and how they negotiated a space for tobacco within their culture, using and stretching pre-existing categories to do so.

Tobacco, she argues, was problematic. Its association with Amerindian spiritual activity labelled it as demoniacal, yet its pleasurable qualities, addictiveness, supposed medicinal value and money-making potential ensured that a place was found for it nonetheless. The Galenic humoral system was used, among other filters, to process the transition of tobacco from suspicious novelty to commercialized commodity. As a result, Jillings points out, tobacco made one of the best cultural transitions of any New World product, and the encounter with it confirmed, rather than challenged, Old World customs.

Brunstetter and Jillings show that Old World reactions to the New involved a complex and responsive utilization of pre-existing categories of understanding. This view of encounter and its consequences is extended by Mark S. Dawson, who examines how the English used their long-standing physiognomic view of humanity as a basis for the interpretation and classification of New World people from the late sixteenth to the early eighteenth centuries. Dawson shows that the first response of Old World people to new groups was to apply previous systems of knowledge. The physiognomy of humours was sufficiently flexible that it was able to accommodate the new data and still seem to provide satisfactory explanation for differences, so it retained authority. Indeed, Dawson argues, humoral physiognomy led the early modern English to see signs of social status in foreign physiques which built upon, and confirmed, the expectations of inequality which they brought from home. Over time the new information did force a change in Old World views, and in place of humoral, status-based categorization we start to see more recognisably modern views of race. Dawson demonstrates, however, that modern racism did not arise *ex nihilo* and that one framework gradually evolved into the other. The moment of change, in other words, did not occur when and where we might expect.

Encounter with the New World could also be a means to critique the worldviews of the Old, even when that encounter was wholly fictional. Nicholas Keene demonstrates that the *terra incognita* could be an ideal locale for utopian satire, since it permitted the almost untrammelled projection of the imagination. This was the case for Gabriel de Foigny, the seventeenth-century defrocked monk who chose Australia as the setting for his account of a society of philosophical hermaphrodites. Foigny's story of the meeting between an intrepid Old World traveller and enlightened New World people operated as housing for a series of challenges to the social, religious, political, sexual, and gender structures of European society. Keene argues that the society Foigny describes is therefore much more than an exercise in exoticism, while its inhabitants are hardly 'noble savages'. They represent, indeed, a New World more civilized and rational than the Old. As it would

be for later explorers and settlers, Australia was for Foigny a blank slate, and how he inscribed it reveals his complete fascination with the world of his origin, and his complete indifference to the actual people of that world.

After this series of accounts of armchair travellers and meetings in the mind or on Old World soil, the final piece in this collection takes us back to the physical journeys which enabled contact in the first place. Mercedes Maroto Camino takes a Spanish-sponsored trip to Tahiti in the late eighteenth century as a case study for cultural encounter. This trip is interesting in part because its particular circumstances ensured that the indigenous population and the travelling Europeans met on unusually even terms, and in part because multiple sources survive, giving an opportunity to trace different perspectives on and to take different approaches to a single event. Maroto Camino thus draws on a broad range of types of evidence, including maps, objects, and narrative accounts, some never before published or translated. From these she creates a picture of a moment when encounter was less asymmetrical than usual, and when it could actually be a collaborative accomplishment. Old and New Worlds, Maroto Camino reminds us, did not always meet on the same terms, nor with the same results.

In the second millennium CE, Europeans looked outwards from home, undertook long voyages, and sought out the people of distant lands. These journeys challenged their assumptions about humanity and their certainties about the world. Many travelled not in body, but in their intellect and imagination, yet they still thereby formed ideas which have become foundational to modern mentalities, including race, ethnicity, nation, and the nature of humanity itself. The consequences were profound, and both productive and destructive. At the beginning of the third millennium of the Common Era we occupy a world shaped by those centuries of travel and encounter. They helped to create the New World in which we all now live. This collection gives some taste of how this came to be.

Of Grifons and Tyrants: Anglo-Norman Views of the Mediterranean World during the Third Crusade

Lindsay Diggelmann

A focus on 'European cultural encounters' generally draws the gaze outwards from a European centre to a non-European periphery, to a 'New World' still defined by reference to the old. Yet not all such encounters unfolded in this way. Here I wish to explore one example of the imposition of stereotypes and broad cultural assumptions usually reserved for non-Europeans onto an unfamiliar people within Europe itself. On their way to the Holy Land in 1190 and 1191, Richard I of England and his crusading forces spent considerable time on the islands of Sicily and Cyprus. Several accounts, some written by authors in Richard's entourage, provide consistently negative views of the Greek peoples (or 'Grifons') that Anglo-Norman travellers met en route to the Third Crusade. Less peripatetic authors also contribute to the image of Greek inadequacy despite not travelling to see for themselves the targets of their venomous pens. For generations, historians have mined these sources for information on numerous aspects of the crusade itself and for analysis of the political implications of Richard's sojourns in the Mediterranean. Relatively little attention has been paid, however, to the implicit cultural views held by commentators from north-western Europe regarding these 'Grifon' populations. Work on Western cultural perceptions of the Greek world has tended to concentrate on relations with Constantinople itself and its rulers, rather than its far-flung outposts.[1] By

[1] The classic study is D. J. Geanakoplos, *Byzantine East and Latin West: Two Worlds of Christendom in Middle Ages and Renaissance*, Studies in Ecclesiastical and Cultural History (Oxford: Blackwell, 1966). More recent examples with an emphasis on the period of the Crusades

maintaining a narrow focus on the Grifons of Sicily and Cyprus (as seen by a distinct group of Western visitors and authors) I hope to show that surprisingly consistent denigration of these communities is the result of the moral, emotional, and gender-related boundaries drawn between those of Anglo-Norman and those of Mediterranean origin. Representations of Greek treacherousness, excitability, and lack of masculinity abound. Such strategies of cultural distancing are encapsulated in accounts of the actions of the tyrant of Cyprus, Isaac Comnenos. By examining the way in which one group of authors characterizes culturally and ethnically distinct societies, it may also be possible to reach some conclusions about these Anglo-Norman commentators' views on the nature of their own cultural and political community.

The Third Crusade was organized in response to the fall of Jerusalem and other parts of the Latin states of Outremer in 1187. Richard, then Duke of Aquitaine, had been among the first Western princes to pledge himself to an expedition to return the holy places to Christian rule.[2] A combination of logistical challenges, fund-raising difficulties, and squabbles with his great rival Philip II of France ensured that the departure of the Anglo-Norman crusading force was delayed until the summer of 1190. Both Richard's and Philip's armies arrived at Messina, on the island of Sicily, in September 1190 and wintered there before setting out for the East in the spring of 1191. While in Sicily, Richard intervened in local affairs, claiming a personal interest as his sister Joanna had been married to the recently deceased Norman king, William II. His men, meanwhile, found themselves with time on their hands in a surprisingly foreign environment. Despite the presence of a ruling Norman class the majority of Messina's residents

include Krijnie N. Ciggaar, *Western Travellers to Constantinople: The West and Byzantium, 962–1204; Cultural and Political Relations*, Medieval Mediterranean, 10 (Leiden: Brill, 1996); and Marc Carrier, 'Perfidious and Effeminate Greeks: The Representation of Byzantine Ceremonial in the Western Chronicles of the Crusades', *Annuario: Istituto Romeno di cultura e ricerca umanistica*, 4 (2002), 47–68 (available online at <http://www.geocities.com/serban_marin/carrier2002.html>). Ciggaar mentions Richard I and the events dealt with here only in passing, while Carrier's particular focus is on views of the Byzantine court and its value systems and he chooses not to deal with texts from the Third Crusade. Of related interest are the essays collected in *Relations between East and West in the Middle Ages*, ed. by Derek Baker (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1973); and *The Meeting of Two Worlds: Cultural Exchange between East and West during the Period of the Crusades*, ed. by Vladimir P. Goss (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, 1986).

[2] He succeeded his father, Henry II, as King of England after the latter's death in July 1189. On Richard's career see John Gillingham, *Richard I* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999).

were of Greek background, reflecting the island's former status as part of the Byzantine Empire.[3] Cultural encounters of a decidedly prickly nature ensued.

After leaving Sicily, Philip made his way directly to Acre, where a siege by Christian forces had been under way since August 1189. Richard and his fleet, on the other hand, visited Crete and Rhodes before being drawn into an extended diversion on Cyprus. Most accounts of the episode suggest that it was more or less an accident brought on by a storm that blew several vessels off course, resulting in a rescue exercise by Richard and the rest of the fleet.[4] This may reflect Plantagenet propaganda intended to justify an entirely premeditated assault on the island to secure it as a supply base for the crusade.[5] Whatever the case, Richard's forces effectively conquered the island within a month, deposing the self-styled 'emperor', the Byzantine prince Isaac Ducas Comnenos. The episode is also notable for the fact that Richard married his bride, the Spanish princess Berengaria of Navarre, at Limassol on 12 May.[6] Richard eventually reached Acre with his army in June 1191, staying in the Holy Land until October 1192.

The two sources of most interest for the Mediterranean excursions are the Latin chronicles of Roger of Howden and the Norman-French verse account of the crusade, *Estoire de la guerre sainte* (History of the Holy War) by Ambroise.

[3] Donald Matthew, *The Norman Kingdom of Sicily* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), p. 137. For background on the Norman presence in Sicily, see ibid., chap. 1. Other detailed studies include Hiroshi Takayama, *The Administration of the Norman Kingdom of Sicily* (Leiden: Brill, 1993); and Alex Metcalfe, *Muslims and Christians in Norman Sicily: Arabic Speakers and the End of Islam* (New York: Routledge Curzon, 2003). The latter has much to say on demographic, religious, and linguistic issues in twelfth-century Sicily, and emphasizes the difficulties of drawing distinct lines between those of varying cultural heritages. Although Sicily had been under Muslim rule between the early ninth and late eleventh centuries, Arab presence had been much stronger in the south and west of the island than in the north-eastern region around Messina, which largely retained its Greek character. See Metcalfe, *Muslims and Christians*, p. 31 and chap. 3.

[4] For a summary of events in Cyprus see Gillingham, *Richard I*, chap. 9; and the older but still useful account by Sir George Hill, *A History of Cyprus*, 4 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1940–52), I, 312–21 (although Hill is perhaps too willing to accept at face value some of the chroniclers' more outrageous stories). For further background see Peter W. Edbury, *The Kingdom of Cyprus and the Crusades, 1191–1374* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), chap. 1.

[5] As suggested by James A. Brundage, 'Richard the Lion-Heart and Byzantium', *Studies in Medieval Culture*, 6–7 (1976), 63–70.

[6] John Gillingham, 'Richard I and Berengaria of Navarre', *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, 53 (1980), 157–73.

Both men were almost certainly present in Richard's entourage during the Mediterranean prelude to the Third Crusade proper, and both offer detailed narratives of events laced with personal observations and opinions. Roger's two long prose works (the earlier *Gesta* and the later *Chronica*, between which there is substantial overlap) present a relatively sober history of the later part of Henry II's reign, all of Richard I's and the beginning of John's up to 1201.[7] Roger's eye for detail and his interest in the minutiae of diplomatic relations, especially between the Plantagenets and Capetians, make him a valuable but curiously under-appreciated witness. His approach has long been considered 'worthy but dull', yet a closer look can reveal underlying assumptions and cultural biases regarding the peoples he encountered on his travels.[8] His detailed narrative suggests that he accompanied the crusade as far as Acre but then returned to Europe in the company of the French king Philip Augustus, perhaps with orders from Richard to keep a close eye on his great rival.[9] The poet Ambroise is a much more shadowy figure, about whom we know nothing beyond what he tells us in his poem. According to his modern editors Ambroise was perhaps a Norman cleric and 'a man of some education', displaying a keen self-identification with the Norman conquerors of England and Sicily.[10] His level of knowledge of the crusade suggests personal involvement, especially as he is happy to concede that there are some important events that he did not witness personally and for which he is reliant on the memories of other observers. Parts of his narrative tell a quite different story from

[7] *Gesta regis Henrici secundi et gesta regis Ricardi*, ed. by William Stubbs, Rolls Series (hereafter RS) 49, 2 vols (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1867; repr. New York: Kraus, 1965); and *Chronica magistri Rogeri de Houedene*, ed. by William Stubbs, RS 51, 3 vols (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1868; repr. New York: Kraus, 1964). The two works are now usually accepted as both being by Roger. See David Corner, 'The *Gesta Regis Henrici Secundi* and *Chronica* of Roger, Parson of Howden', *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, 56 (1983), 126–44.

[8] John Gillingham, 'The Travels of Roger of Howden and his Views of the Irish, Scots and Welsh', *Anglo-Norman Studies*, 20 (1998), 151–69 (p. 153) (repr. in Gillingham, *The English in the Twelfth Century* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2000), pp. 69–91). See also John Gillingham, 'Roger of Howden on Crusade', in *Medieval Historical Writing in the Christian and Islamic Worlds*, ed. by D. O. Morgan (London: School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, 1982), pp. 60–75. In both articles Gillingham is keen to deflate the traditional view of Roger of Howden as a 'faceless bureaucrat' (Gillingham, 'Howden on Crusade', p. 61).

[9] Gillingham, 'Howden on Crusade', p. 66 and n. 41. However, he may not have been present in Cyprus: Gillingham, *Richard I*, p. 144 n. 16.

[10] *The History of the Holy War: Ambroise's 'Estoire de la guerre sainte'* (hereafter *Ambroise*), ed. by Marianne Ailes and Malcolm Barber, 2 vols (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2003), II, 2.

that of Roger of Howden and, as one might expect with a verse text, the story is embellished with a range of rhetorical and literary devices.[11]

Although Roger and Ambroise provide our fullest sources for the Sicily and Cyprus episodes, other authors offer useful comparisons. The English chroniclers Richard of Devizes, Ralph of Coggeshall, Ralph de Diceto, and William of Newburgh all discuss the prelude to the crusade in various levels of detail, from the barest mention of Richard's stay in Messina (Ralph of Coggeshall) to a lengthy account of the conquest of Cyprus (William of Newburgh).[12] One further text of interest is the rather mysterious *Itinerarium peregrinorum et gesta regis Ricardi* (Itinerary of the Pilgrims and Deeds of King Richard).[13] Authorship has never been confirmed. Helen Nicholson, the text's recent editor, suggests that a later and longer version ('IP2'), perhaps compiled by a certain Richard de Templo around 1220 and containing many passages based closely on Ambroise and others, may be built around the core of an earlier text ('IP1') written by an eyewitness at the time of the crusade itself. While much of the description of the Mediterranean sojourns in the longer version appears simply to copy Ambroise, there are some additions that may represent original material.

This list is not meant to be exhaustive. But it is intended to provide a reasonable selection of views from Anglo-Norman authors, a selection wide enough to establish some sense of common threads and persistent themes, especially regarding our authors' attitude to the Greek peoples they either met themselves or heard described by others.[14] Since my interest here is not to reconstruct the train

[11] On the linguistic and literary qualities of the poem see *Ambroise*, II, 20–23; and for a dissenting consideration of the text and its author see Françoise Vielliard, 'Richard Coeur de Lion et son entourage normand: Le Témoignage de *l'Estoire de la guerre sainte*', *Bibliothèque de l'École des chartes*, 160 (2002), 5–52.

[12] Richard of Devizes, *The Chronicle of Richard of Devizes of the Time of King Richard the First*, trans. by John T. Appleby (London: Nelson, 1963); Ralph of Coggeshall, *Chronicon Anglicanum*, ed. by Joseph Stephenson, RS 66 (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1875; repr. New York: Kraus, 1965); Radulphus de Diceto, *Opera historica*, ed. by William Stubbs, RS 68, 2 vols (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1876; repr. New York: Kraus, 1965); William of Newburgh, *Historia rerum Anglicarum*, ed. by Richard Howlett, RS 82, 2 vols (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1884–85; repr. New York: Kraus, 1964).

[13] *Chronicle of the Third Crusade: A Translation of the Itinerarium peregrinorum et gesta regis Ricardi*, ed. by Helen J. Nicholson (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1997). On the relationship of the *Itinerarium* to the text of Ambroise see also Vielliard, 'Richard Coeur de Lion', especially pp. 5–12.

[14] For background on earlier cultural interactions between England and the Byzantine Greek world, see Ciggaar, *Western Travellers*, chap. 5; and D. M. Nicol, 'Byzantium and England', *Balkan Studies*, 15 (1974), 179–203.

of events in Sicily and Cyprus (something that has been done many times) but to offer an analysis of the cultural and ethnic views put forward by a range of contemporaries, any inconsistencies, contradictions, or lacunae in the various versions of the narrative need not be of concern. Indeed, those factors that our authors choose to highlight or ignore may give us interesting insights into their attitudes towards the Mediterranean peoples whom the crusaders encountered on their way to the East.

The name 'Grifon' deserves some attention. The term is widely used by the authors under consideration here. Furthermore, it is used without introduction or explanation, suggesting an expected level of familiarity for the intended audience. Typical is Ralph de Diceto's comment: 'on the next day [King Richard] captured a castle between Calabria and Messina which is called the monastery of the Grifons. The Grifons, attacking Hugh the Brown, were pushed back by the king of the English.'[15] Although isolated instances of 'Grifon' referring to Muslims could be found in medieval literature, it is clear that those designated with the term in accounts of events at Sicily and Cyprus were Greek Christians.[16] This usage undoubtedly glosses over the more varied ethnic origins, religious affiliations, and self-identification of the inhabitants of these regions. But that is precisely the point: our authors' indiscriminate use of a blanket term with derogatory overtones to encompass a range of Mediterranean peoples exhibits a narrow outlook that reveals preconceived prejudices and deliberate cultural distancing, what we might almost refer to today as 'racial profiling'. This is especially evident in the name given to the temporary fortification erected by Richard I at Messina: the 'Mategrifon' or 'Grifon-killer' (the 'mate-' element is cognate with 'checkmate'). Richard of Devizes claims that the King himself chose this name 'as a taunt to the Grifons'.[17] The author of the *Itinerarium* notes that in response 'the Grifons were absolutely infuriated because [the King] intended to use this building to destroy them'.[18]

[15] Diceto, *Opera*, p. 85. This is Hugh IX, Lord of Lusignan. See Gillingham, *Richard I*, p. 134.

[16] *Itinerarium*, p. 155 n. 45. Any connection with the mythical creature known as a gryphon (or griffin) can be only speculative. On the etymology of the word and its negative connotations see A. A. Livingston, '*Grifon* Greek' and '*Grifaigne* Greek', *Modern Language Notes*, 22 (1907), 47–49 and 49–51; and Urban T. Holmes, Jr, 'Old French *Grifaigne* and *Grifon*', *Studies in Philology*, 43 (1946), 586–94.

[17] Richard of Devizes, *Chronicle*, p. 25.

[18] *Itinerarium*, p. 167. See also *Ambroise*, II, 44 and 46.

Views of the inadequacy of Greek peoples as a whole were not new to the period of the Third Crusade, but built on earlier cultural stereotypes. Writing only a few years before the expedition, for example, the Angevin court official Walter Map claimed that 'there is nothing in any Greek to be proud of, nothing excellent: so weak are they that even the dregs of all nations [...] are an object of envy to them'.[19] This tradition is continued by the crusade chroniclers, both those who travelled to see for themselves and those who stayed behind. An overwhelmingly negative tone characterizes all of the representations of Sicilian and Cypriot Greeks within these texts, starting with the encounter between the crusaders and the inhabitants of Messina. Ambroise's first comment depicts them as 'the Grifon rabble of the town and the louts, descendants of Saracens', thus impugning the faith of the Christian Grifons by association with infidels.[20] The author of the *Itinerarium*, taking his cue from Ambroise, says of Messina that it 'abounds in every good and essential thing, but its people are of the very worst sort'.[21] Roger of Howden highlights the enmity between the Grifons of Messina and other peoples of Sicily, whom (he claims) the former were able to dominate before Richard's arrival changed the face of the island's affairs. Whereas previously the Grifons had held their neighbours in contempt and thought very little of killing them, once their power was circumscribed by Richard's intervention they 'fell into the hole which they had dug for themselves and became fugitives in their own land'.[22] Richard of Devizes embellishes his account by having Philip Augustus himself condemn the Greek Messinians. Since Philip is 'convinced that God hates these men and has hardened their hearts', military action against them is acceptable. Philip's men will be 'blameless' in attacking the 'damned Grifons'.[23] There are strong echoes here of the language of crusading, in which normally sinful killing in the context of battle becomes a positive spiritual good when undertaken on behalf of the Church.[24] By implication, then, the Grifons are men worthy of

[19] Walter Map, *De nugis curialium (Courtiers' Trifles)*, trans. by M. R. James, rev. by C. N. L. Brooke and R. A. B. Mynors (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983), p. 179.

[20] *Ambroise*, II, 38. On the Islamic presence in Sicily see Metcalfe, *Muslims and Christians*, chap. 2.

[21] *Itinerarium*, pp. 154–55.

[22] Roger of Howden, *Gesta*, pp. 138–39, and *Chronica*, p. 67.

[23] Richard of Devizes, *Chronicle*, p. 23.

[24] For a succinct summary of the issues surrounding the mentalities of crusading and 'holy war' see Jonathan Riley-Smith, *What Were the Crusades?*, 3rd edn (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), pp. 1–12.

having a crusade called against them, men just as loathsome to true Christians as are heretics or infidels.

Furthermore, the Anglo-Norman authors consistently depict Greeks as guilty of treacherousness. This is a familiar attribute in representations of Greek culture within the Latin tradition, most famously in Virgil's account of the Trojan horse.[25] Indeed, Ulysses himself figures in the *Itinerarium* as an exemplar of Greek treachery. Among the Grifons 'there is no modern successor for the virtues of the Ancient Greeks, instead all are successors of their crimes, the deceits of Sinon and the tricks of Ulysses; and they continue the atrocities of Atreus'.[26] Only the crimes of the ancient Greeks have been passed down to their modern descendants; others, including King Richard himself, have inherited their virtues. As well as recalling heroes of other cultures (Roland and Titus) he displays the military capabilities of Hector, Achilles, and Alexander. These qualities are enhanced by the wisdom of Nestor and Ulysses, the latter now used as a more positive example of ancient Greek merit.[27]

In such qualities the Grifons are sadly lacking, their deficiencies made all the worse by indicating an obvious decline in a once great civilization. Only by treachery can they hope to prevail over the might of the Lionheart. The citizens of Messina attempt to ambush him 'treacherously' (*proditiose*) after a conference with Philip Augustus.[28] The inhabitants of Cyprus take advantage of the wreck of part of Richard's fleet at Limassol to attack his men as they come ashore, even besieging a number of survivors who have taken refuge in a church.[29] So shocking is their behaviour that it draws Richard away from his primary focus, the crusade against the infidels, and into a campaign against equally despicable enemies of God. As Ambroise comments, 'when [Richard] saw the shore covered with the perfidious Greeks, he had no desire to hunt out Saracens worse than these'.[30]

Among a treacherous people, by far the worst is the self-styled emperor of Cyprus, Isaac Comnenos.[31] Ambroise dehumanizes this archetypal Greek villain

[25] Virgil, *Aeneid*, II.49, has the famous phrase 'timeo danaos et dona ferentes' (I fear Greeks, especially bearing gifts). See also Carrier, 'Perfidious and Effeminate Greeks', pp. 60–61.

[26] *Itinerarium*, p. 57.

[27] *Itinerarium*, pp. 145, 146.

[28] Roger of Howden, *Gesta*, p. 128, and *Chronica*, p. 57.

[29] Richard of Devizes, *Chronicle*, p. 36.

[30] *Ambroise*, II, 51.

[31] Isaac had proclaimed himself *basileus* (ruler) in Cyprus in 1184 despite opposition from Constantinople. His reputation is scarcely better among Greek chroniclers than it is among

by refusing to name him, referring to him only as 'tyrant' or 'emperor', with the latter title often coloured by epithets such as 'false and perfidious'.[32] In this sense Ambroise creates an opponent worthy of Richard's attention, a typically corrupt Eastern tyrant in opposition to a virtuous Western monarch fighting in God's name. Only by presenting Isaac as the most evil and most treacherous of tyrants can Richard's detour from his main task be justified. In fact the Cyprus episode becomes by implication an extension of (or perhaps a prelude to) the crusade proper, since Isaac is presented as equal to the greatest of Christian traitors by being in alliance with the Saracens:

> [T]here ruled there a tyrant who leaned only towards evil. He was more treacherous and more evil than Judas or Ganelon. He turned away from Christians and was the intimate friend of Saladin. It was said with some certainty that they had drunk each other's blood as a sign of their alliance, and this was later known to be true.[33]

William of Newburgh makes a similar accusation, declaring the emperor to be 'of Christian name but allied to the enemy Saladin, more faithful to himself than to Christ, if he [Isaac] may be called Christian'.[34] When Richard's men are wrecked on the coast of Cyprus, Ambroise claims that it is only by trickery and not by valour that the tyrant can defeat them: 'having guaranteed them safety [...] he — whose word should never be trusted — promptly attacked them'.[35]

Roger of Howden, normally more matter-of-fact than Ambroise, is nonetheless equally scathing of Isaac's moral turpitude, accusing him of being 'debauched by ferocious cruelty'.[36] The tyrant's imprisonment of Richard's shipwrecked men is an act of spiritual treachery in that it keeps Christian 'pilgrims' from their journey. His hoarding of their drowned colleagues' property is just as sacrilegious: Richard demands the return of his men's effects 'so that he could use them to perform service to God for their souls'. The fact that the emperor 'haughtily' refuses to return both prisoners and property condemns him in Roger's eyes.[37] After Richard gets the better of the Cypriots in battle Isaac swears fealty and

Westerners. For an attempt to trace his career and family connections and to offer a more balanced assessment, see W. H. Rudt de Collenberg, 'L'Empereur Isaac de Chypre et sa fille (1155–1207)', *Byzantion*, 38 (1968), 123–79.

[32] *Ambroise*, II, 50–53.

[33] *Ambroise*, II, 50–51.

[34] William of Newburgh, *Historia*, p. 350.

[35] *Ambroise*, II, 51.

[36] Roger of Howden, *Gesta*, p. 163, and *Chronica*, p. 106.

[37] Roger of Howden, *Chronica*, p. 106.

homage to the English king but quickly reneges on his solemn oath, giving Richard the excuse he needs to impose a final, humiliating defeat.[38] Ralph of Coggeshall also sees Richard as being goaded into action by the 'animosity and detestable inhumanity of this man [...] who had handed over hostages for peace but had broken the peace treaty which had been initiated'.[39] For William of Newburgh, Isaac is 'a sham participant in pacts [...] [who] added treachery to his earlier evils'.[40] This repeated emphasis on treachery gains impact through the ongoing contrast between the Greek and Anglo-Norman leaders. Both William of Newburgh and Ralph de Diceto record Richard's trustworthiness as a monarch who keeps his word. Having pledged not to bind Isaac in iron chains, Richard lives up to the strict letter of his promise and acknowledges the high status of his prisoner while at the same time making him the butt of a humiliating joke: he has his enemy restrained in shackles made of silver.[41] Much of the tone for the way Isaac is treated in the chronicles is set by King Richard himself. In a letter home from Acre to his English officials (on which parts of Ralph de Diceto's account appear to be very closely based) Richard describes his conquest of Cyprus and refers to the unnamed (and thus once again dehumanized) tyrant 'who had usurped to himself the imperial name, respecting neither God nor men'.[42]

Thus treachery and lack of honour epitomize the Greek character for several Anglo-Norman authors and even for their king. An equally powerful (although not always explicit) motif in the representation of Mediterranean Greeks is their lack of manliness. Inadequate Grifon masculinity implicitly contrasts and is measured against the superior standard of gendered behaviour displayed by the Anglo-Norman crusaders. Like treachery, Greek effeminacy is an image with a long history in Latin and Western representations, as several historians have noted.[43]

[38] Roger of Howden, *Gesta*, p. 166, and *Chronica*, p. 109.

[39] Ralph of Coggeshall, *Chronicon*, p. 31.

[40] William of Newburgh, *Historia*, p. 351.

[41] William of Newburgh, *Historia*, p. 351; and Diceto, *Opera*, p. 92. There may be a reference in this incident to desultory Western views of Byzantine opulence. See Carrier, 'Perfidious and Effeminate Greeks', pp. 64–65.

[42] *Epistolae cantuarienses*, ed. by William Stubbs, RS 38, 2 vols (London: Longman, Green, Longman, Roberts, and Green, 1865), II, 347. Compare the close paraphrase at Diceto, *Opera*, p. 92.

[43] Carrier, 'Perfidious and Effeminate Greeks', pp. 61–65. On a related subject see Matthew Bennett, 'Virile Latins, Effeminate Greeks and Strong Women: Gender Definitions on Crusade?', in *Gendering the Crusades*, ed. by Susan B. Edgington and Sarah Lambert (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2001), pp. 16–30.

However, lack of masculinity does not imply effeminacy exclusively. Two types of 'unmanly' actions are evident in these texts: those that make the Grifons appear like women (excitability, unreliability, weakness in warfare) and those that make them appear like beasts (brutality, lack of reason and intelligence). Consistency is lacking in these negative portrayals: the Grifons can be both warlike (in the negative sense of savage and unchivalric) and unwarlike (fearful and effeminate). The Anglo-Norman authors seem ready to use whichever suite of negative traits is most effective in denigrating their opponents at any particular time.

This opportunistic depiction of Greeks as both warlike and unwarlike is especially evident in descriptions of the conflict against the Cypriots. Richard of Devizes considers 'that whole race [*gens*] [...] warlike and accustomed to live by plunder'.[44] They defend themselves valiantly against the crusader army whose eventual victory is 'dearly bought'.[45] Yet their emperor begs for mercy in cowardly fashion. Roger of Howden sneers that the Cypriots are 'all almost completely unskilled in the art of warfare' but has them put up a stout defence against the crusaders, perhaps only to allow King Richard and his followers to work up a sweat before engineering a glorious victory.[46] In William of Newburgh's version the defenders show less backbone, their efforts quickly foundering as 'Greek softness no longer kept in check the attack of the Latins'.[47] Ambroise describes the inhabitants of Limassol as full of bravado when preparing to face the crusaders, 'wild' and 'more arrogant than any people alive', but consigned to defeat as their bravery is purely show.[48] Any skill they have is instinctive and animal-like (indeed, they bay 'like dogs' at the crusader army), whereas their opponents use reason and intelligence as weapons: the crusaders are 'men learned in war' who 'better understood the business of war'.[49] Without organization, the Cypriot army descends rapidly into a mere rabble.

Grifon excitability and lack of composure are repeatedly set against the qualities of the Anglo-Normans ('the most reliable race', as Ambroise calls his countrymen).[50] The inhabitants of Messina are quick to take offence at any perceived

[44] Richard of Devizes, *Chronicle*, p. 36.

[45] Richard of Devizes, *Chronicle*, p. 38.

[46] Roger of Howden, *Chronica*, p. 107.

[47] William of Newburgh, *Historia*, p. 350.

[48] *Ambroise*, II, 52.

[49] *Ambroise*, II, 52.

[50] *Ambroise*, II, 120.

slight on the part of the crusader army. It is interesting to note that this group sometimes includes 'Lombards' (Italians; or those who follow Latin rather than Orthodox rites) as well as Greeks. Both Ambroise (being present in Sicily) and, following him, the author of the *Itinerarium*, draw a distinction between these two ethnic or national groups. By contrast Roger of Howden, also an 'eyewitness', tends to lump them together as 'citizens of Messina' and uses the term 'Grifon' but never 'Lombard'. Richard of Devizes, personally distant from Messina, is content to depict the Grifons as the dominant Sicilian people and to tar all Sicilians with the brush of Greek cultural inadequacy. To him all Messinians are 'vile and effeminate Grifons'.[51] In all cases there is a strong characterization of Mediterranean peoples as homogenous and culturally distinct from northerners. When 'Lombards' are referred to they share the unmanly attributes of Greeks rather than the qualities of northern 'Latins' and Anglo-Normans.

According to Roger of Howden the Messinians are 'easily excited' by suspicion of Richard's intentions into action against his troops.[52] William of Newburgh also emphasizes this trait by having the locals attack Richard's envoys even before the King himself has arrived at Messina, when other accounts suggest that tensions took considerably more time to spill over into violence.[53] Ambroise describes an incident in which a crusader argues with a Messinian market woman over the price of bread. The townspeople join in to support the woman in her immoderate anger, engaging in a feminized over-reaction as they beat the outsider and tear his hair. Just as the woman is 'angry and [...] beside herself', so her fellow Messinians behave in the same immoderate and womanly way as they support her.[54] The author of the *Itinerarium* embellishes the incident by reporting that the woman 'attacked the man with a stream of abuse' while the crowd 'left him virtually trampled to death'.[55] These characteristics reveal a verbal violence and an unwillingness to be guided by reason that are associated with femininity. Messinians, like women, are ruled by their emotions rather than by their rational faculties.

[51] Richard of Devizes, *Chronicle*, p. 20. While those of Greek origin were in the majority at Messina the population, as in much of Sicily and southern Italy, was an interesting *mélange* of cultures, languages, and religions. See Matthew, *Norman Kingdom of Sicily*, chap. 4; Metcalfe, *Muslims and Christians*, chap. 3; and Vera von Falkenhausen, 'The Greek Presence in Norman Sicily: The Contribution of Archival Material in Greek', in *The Society of Norman Italy*, ed. by G. A. Loud and A. Metcalfe (Leiden: Brill, 2002), pp. 253–87.

[52] Roger of Howden, *Chronica*, p. 56.

[53] William of Newburgh, *Historia*, p. 324.

[54] *Ambroise*, II, 40.

[55] *Itinerarium*, p. 159. The Messinians are referred to as 'Lombards' in this case.

This emphasis on emotional excess goes beyond attempts to portray Mediterranean peoples as unmanly (whether as feminine or as beastly). Anger, fear, and shame are the typical emotional responses of Grifons to adversity. The display of emotion is not in itself a negative character trait, but the circumstances in which certain emotions are displayed consistently lend themselves to negative stereotyping of Greek weakness. Take the example of royal anger. Roger of Howden describes King Richard as 'greatly enraged' after learning that the Cypriots have denied one of his ships entrance to their harbour.[56] Ralph de Diceto similarly describes him as 'aflame with anger' at the same point in the narrative; for William of Newburgh the King is 'inflamed by just zeal for revenge'.[57] In Roger's version, Richard respectfully begs the Cypriot emperor to change his mind; on Isaac's refusal to do so, the King and his men attack. In his own letter Richard describes himself as acting 'in revenge against so great an injury, not enraged unworthily, helped by divine judgement'.[58] In all these cases Richard's anger has a righteous quality that prompts him to seek vengeance for unjust wrongs: subsequent military action is fully justified as the fair expression of royal rage. Furthermore Richard's anger, though great, is controlled. Force is used only after diplomatic channels have been tested and proven futile. By contrast, Isaac's royal anger is portrayed as thoughtless, rash, and self-defeating. During a banquet an unnamed Greek noble advises Isaac to make peace with Richard to avoid the destruction of his kingdom. The emperor, 'greatly angered by this speech, struck at him with the knife he was holding and cut off the nose of the person who had been giving him good advice'.[59] Not only is this action intemperate and uncontrolled; it also loses Isaac one supporter as the unfortunate maimed noble scuttles off to pledge his support to Richard. It is noteworthy that Roger describes both kings as *iratus* and yet the contrast in the nature and outcome of their anger could hardly be greater.

Similar themes apply to representations of fear and shame. Despite their occasional ferocity the Grifons are consistently denigrated for their cowardice. In this case there is a connection between ruler and ruled: in Isaac, the cowardly people of Cyprus get the ruler they deserve. After defeat by Richard which 'so shamed the Greeks', Isaac is described by Ambroise as 'angry, upset and

[56] Roger of Howden, *Gesta*, p. 163, and *Chronica*, p. 106. On royal anger see *Anger's Past: The Social Uses of an Emotion in the Middle Ages*, ed. by Barbara H. Rosenwein (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1998), pts II and III.

[57] Diceto, *Opera*, p. 92; and William of Newburgh, *Historia*, p. 350.

[58] *Epistolae cantuarienses*, II, 347.

[59] Roger of Howden, *Chronica*, p. 110.

despairing', having 'given himself up to his sorrow and shame'.[60] His people hate him, and yet are just as culpable in their defeat due to their own fear and flight from battle. Isaac's nadir comes when he is forced to flee before Richard's nocturnal onslaught, having pledged to stand and fight. His men are equally bewildered, as Roger of Howden describes:

> [W]oken from their sleep they acted like dead men, not knowing what to do or where to escape to [...] but the emperor, with a few of his men, ran off naked, leaving behind his treasures, horses and weapons, his gorgeous tents and his standard all covered with imperial gold, which the king of England immediately decided to pledge to Saint Edmund, the king and glorious martyr.[61]

The clear implication of this passage is that the Emperor has accumulated wealth for its own sake, as a reflection of overweening pride; Richard, on the other hand, values wealth for what it can contribute to the Christian cause and to the memory of England's martyred saint-king. Richard's reward is military victory and the chance of personal salvation; Isaac's misplaced pride results in naked shame. Isaac's shortcomings stand for those of the entire Greek race: in all the writers considered here, it is he who is portrayed as the very worst of Greek tyrants, at once emotional and treacherous, warlike yet cowardly, haughty but humiliated.

One further way in which Greek communities are differentiated and distanced is apparent in the recording of local customs and beliefs. Roger of Howden's comments on his travels, especially in Byzantine lands, convey a sense of attempted accurate reportage, scepticism of local customs and stories, and a general air of superiority. Roger was sent by King Richard to accompany Philip Augustus when the latter left the crusade in August 1191 and returned home, and it is interesting to observe his reaction to several reported sightings of beasts or monsters in this section of his text. Roger notes that in a deserted city on the island of Corfu 'there is such a vast amount of snakes and other poisonous creatures that no one dares to land near it'.[62] He is not able to verify this for himself, but the striking image adds a hint of the fabulous and exotic to an otherwise bland account of the position and features of the island. He does, however, seem to accept the statement that Judas was born in Corfu, marking out the great traitor as someone with Greek connections and thus denigrating Greeks in general as a race that could produce such an abhorrent figure. Earlier, on the coast of Asia Minor in Byzantine territory, Roger relates a local story that seeks to explain the

[60] *Ambroise*, II, 56 and 60.

[61] Roger of Howden, *Chronica*, pp. 107–08.

[62] Roger of Howden, *Gesta*, p. 205, and *Chronica*, p. 165.

frequent occurrence of waterspouts. With the self-assurance of one who knows better, he explains:

> It seems that an enormous black dragon appears in the clouds and plunges his head into the waves while his tail stays in the sky; and he sucks up the water, drawing it to himself with such force that if any ship is near that turbulent spot, even if it is loaded with men or some other heavy goods, it is dragged away and carried up on high. So it is necessary for those wanting to avoid this danger to make a great racket by shouting out loudly and banging pieces of wood together as soon as they see the dragon, so that when the dragon hears the noise and the voices shouting he will keep his distance from them. Some, however, say that this is not a dragon but the sun attracting the waters of the sea to itself, which seems more likely.[63]

Such credulity, Roger implies, is what sets the Greek race apart from more level-headed northerners. The fabulous dragon story may appear to be an amusing anecdote recounted by a world-weary traveller, but it reinforces the sense of cultural distance between the gullible Grifons and their more rational and sensible observer.

Therefore descriptions of Greek peoples in Anglo-Norman accounts of the Third Crusade effect an overwhelmingly negative cultural stereotyping. This is even more apparent when one considers that views of the 'Saracen' Muslims are more nuanced. Certainly the 'infidels' in general are often treated with the same disdain as are the Greeks, magnified by the Islamic rejection of Christianity. For Ambroise they are 'that ugly brown race' who 'hate nothing more on earth than the Christian faith'.[64] He repeatedly denigrates the 'Turks' by labelling them as 'curs' or 'flies' and points out the presence of negroes in the Muslim ranks. These men, to Ambroise, are 'full of evil intent' and are 'a hideous black people, against God and against nature [...]. [N]ever did God make more ugly creatures.'[65] They are not just morally and physically repugnant but unnatural in their strange appearance. To the northern European observer the negro element in the Muslim army reinforces the cultural distance between the two sides. Race and religion act together as markers of difference and markers of enemy inferiority. Furthermore, Muslims can be depicted with the same negative traits as those ascribed to the Greeks. They are treacherous and untrustworthy: after the siege of Acre many are baptized but revert to their original faith at the earliest opportunity.[66] They are

[63] Roger of Howden, *Gesta*, pp. 196–97, and *Chronica*, p. 159.

[64] *Ambroise*, II, 136.

[65] *Ambroise*, II, 62 and 79.

[66] Roger of Howden, *Gesta*, p. 179, and *Chronica*, p. 121.

also unmanly and given to womanly excess: after a defeat they 'lamented so much [...] that [they] cut off their hair and ripped their clothes'.[67]

And yet not all Saracens are dismissed as inadequate or subhuman. Certain individuals are treated with respect as exemplars of chivalry or courage even when they are representatives of the enemy forces. This is noticeable in several of the texts discussed here and exemplifies the widely acknowledged complexity of medieval Western responses to Islam and its adherents.[68] Saladin himself is shown as a worthy opponent, but his brother Safadin achieves equal prominence.[69] Safadin, 'a man of long military experience, very polished and wise', comes to visit King Richard when he is ill; chivalrously sends back Richard's horse after it had been captured in a skirmish; and even offers him the use of a horse in the midst of a battle when the English king has been unseated.[70] Other individual Muslim leaders receive similar treatment, although admiration for their valour can be compromised by amazement at their ferocity. Ambroise provides several tales of this nature, including that of Emir Dequedin, 'most eager in his hatred of Christianity' and yet praised for his military prowess.[71] Particularly striking is the anecdote of Bellegemin, 'valiant, bold and of great renown', who bests an (unnamed) Christian knight by pouring a phial of Greek fire on his genitals.[72] Ambroise relates the story with a mixture of admiration and horror. Richard of Devizes, whose chronicle is perhaps the most jingoistic in its treatment of for-

[67] *Ambroise*, II, 64–65.

[68] Literature on Western impressions of Muslims during the Middle Ages is extensive. An interesting survey of the historiography is provided by David R. Blanks, 'Western Views of Islam in the Premodern Period: A Brief History of Past Approaches', in *Western Views of Islam in Medieval and Early Modern Europe: Perception of Other*, ed. by Michael Frassetto and David R. Blanks (New York: St Martin's, 1999), pp. 11–53. Other articles in the same collection explore this complexity of feeling towards 'Saracens'. See especially Jo Ann Hoeppner Moran Cruz, 'Popular Attitudes Toward Islam in Medieval Europe', ibid., pp. 55–81. Also useful is John V. Tolan, *Saracens: Islam in the Medieval European Imagination* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002). The classic account is R. W. Southern, *Western Views of Islam in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1962).

[69] For a fascinating analysis of the development of the image of Saladin in Western eyes during and after the Third Crusade see John V. Tolan, 'Mirror of Chivalry: Salah al-Din in the Medieval European Imagination', in *Images of the Other: Europe and the Muslim World before 1700*, ed. by David Blanks (Cairo: American University in Cairo Press, 1997), pp. 7–38.

[70] Richard of Devizes, *Chronicle*, p. 75; Roger of Howden, *Chronica*, p. 133; *Ambroise*, II, 184.

[71] *Ambroise*, II, 121.

[72] *Ambroise*, II, 83.

eigners among those considered here, is prepared to concede that the Saracens are accustomed to their climate (unlike the crusaders) and sensibly use this to their advantage to weaken their foes.[73] He describes the Muslim leaders at the siege of Acre as 'the most illustrious men Karakush and Meshtub' and acknowledges their followers as 'the most excellent and well-born fighting men of the infidels'.[74] Of course all this only makes King Richard look even more heroic when he defeats them, but it is noteworthy that the chronicler is prepared to concede this generous assessment to the enemy when in almost the same breath he speaks scathingly of Richard's French ally, Philip Augustus, and the English king's brother John.[75]

In contrast to these more positive or complex views of certain Muslims, virtually the only Greek individual named in the accounts of Sicily and Cyprus is the vilified Isaac Comnenos, and even he is identified by name in only a few of the texts.[76] If Saracens in general are dehumanized, a focus on the virtues or valour of a few individuals within their ranks can act to balance this trend, to 're-humanize' an otherwise alien and alienated race. No such generosity is afforded to the Grifons. They remain a faceless horde, arrogant and insolent in their opposition to the crusader forces.

Any cultural encounter is a two-sided affair. In examining these views of Mediterranean peoples it may be possible to draw some conclusions about the Anglo-Norman authors' opinions concerning their own cultural and national communities in relation to those they meet elsewhere. Three points suggest themselves. Firstly, if the Grifons are given attributes that mark them as alien and culturally inferior (treachery, unmanliness, emotional excess) then their opposites should represent that which is valued: loyalty, masculine prowess, self-restraint. As suggested above, several authors emphasize the military competence and valour of the crusading army, although certain crusaders can be criticized for inappropriate

[73] Richard of Devizes, *Chronicle*, p. 73

[74] Richard of Devizes, *Chronicle*, p. 44.

[75] Richard of Devizes, *Chronicle*, p. 45. Given that Richard of Devizes was one of those commentators whose account of the crusade relied on secondhand reports rather than personal experience, it is not surprising that his horizons may have been somewhat narrower than those of other writers.

[76] In Isaac's entourage Ambroise does mention 'the dragoman of the Emperor, whom I heard called John' and 'a slanderous knight [named] Pagan of Caiphas' (*Ambroise*, II, 55 and 57). Despite his name the latter appears to have been a Frankish baron from the Latin crusader states. In Messina the only named opponents of the crusaders are King Tancred (a Norman) and his representatives Margarit (or Margaritone) and Jordan del Pin, described as 'two very crafty and deceitful Lombards' (*Itinerarium*, p. 160).

behaviour.[77] But it is King Richard himself who epitomizes the qualities that are implicitly valued by this group of authors. The hero-worship of Richard is not entirely uncomplicated, but in general the way he is portrayed in these texts presents him as the epitome of military valour and intelligence.[78] In reality it is quite likely that such assessments are misplaced and that Richard's actions in the Mediterranean were driven much more by impulse and much less by clear-headed strategic thinking than his contemporary admirers may have liked to admit.[79] But for our purposes there is no doubt that Richard's purported capabilities epitomize the expected positive attributes of the crusading army as a whole. This is frequently emphasized in Ambroise's text (and occasionally in the others) by the use of animal images that underscore the sense of efficiency and valour with which Richard and his men are portrayed. When forced into action the crusaders are 'like an ant's nest that has been stirred up'; when needed they show the ferocity of wolves; in Cyprus they fight both like lions (for Ambroise) and like lionesses (for Richard of Devizes).[80] This last image implies the protective instincts of mothers whose cubs have been stolen as the crusaders try to win the freedom of their shipwrecked and captured colleagues. Richard himself rides into battle 'faster than a sparrow hawk'; in his concern for the welfare of his troops he acts 'as the mother hen [who] leads her chicks to food'.[81] Ironically, imagery of beasts reinforces a sense of the crusaders' superior humanity; imagery of the feminine (mother hen, lionesses) reinforces their superior masculinity.

Secondly, it is clear that in this case meetings with alien populations reinforce (rather than challenge) stereotypes of otherness by comparison with the known. One might expect this to hold true for those authors (such as Richard of Devizes and William of Newburgh) who did not travel on crusade and who thus relied on

[77] Such as those who engage in a brawl with a group of Messinians and have to be restrained by Richard himself: Roger of Howden, *Chronica*, p. 56.

[78] On the ways in which Ambroise develops his portrait of Richard as a capable but flawed military hero see Marianne J. Ailes, 'Heroes of War: Ambroise's Heroes of the Third Crusade', in *Writing War: Medieval Literary Responses to Warfare*, ed. by Corinne Saunders, Françoise Le Saux, and Neil Thomas (Rochester, NY: Brewer, 2004), pp. 29–48.

[79] Richard's shortcomings as a crusade commander have been forcefully exposed by Michael Markowski, 'Richard Lionheart: Bad King, Bad Crusader?', *Journal of Medieval History*, 23 (1997), 351–65. Markowski (p. 354) sees the Sicily and Cyprus episodes as ill-judged and wasteful from the perspective of the Third Crusade's wider aims.

[80] *Ambroise*, II, 129; Roger of Howden, *Chronica*, p. 108; *Ambroise*, II, 52; Richard of Devizes, *Chronicle*, p. 37.

[81] *Ambroise*, II, 131 and 48.

other witnesses to construct their secondhand accounts. But as we have seen, even the firsthand observations of Roger of Howden and Ambroise continue the familiar prejudices against Greek peoples with little apparent attempt to reassess or question received wisdom. It seems that observers went away with preconceived views of the relative merits of Greek and Anglo-Norman culture and that the cultural gap remained wide. The encounter in this case is neither an enlightening nor an educating process.

Thirdly, what of the implicit views in these texts concerning the crusaders' national or ethnic homogeneity? Without wishing to enter at length into the debate over concepts of race and nation in the Middle Ages, what does appear is a sense of unity in diversity among the members of Richard's crusading army that is strengthened by opposition to a specific cultural, linguistic, and religious group, the Grifons.[82] As we have seen, our authors' reflections on Grifonhood are largely undisturbed by contemplation of any possible internal complexity, just as for the more obviously alien and unfamiliar 'Saracens' or 'Turks'. There is a strong contrast between the relative uniformity and simplicity of the construction of 'Greek' ethnicity and the more complex views concerning the ethnic groupings of the authors' home regions. As Robert Bartlett has pointed out, it is quite possible for medieval authors to identify themselves or their subjects with more than one ethnic group or subgroup simultaneously.[83] For Ambroise, the crusading enterprise (recalling Charlemagne's campaigns) should help to unify peoples of diverse origins from within the Angevin realm and its immediate surrounds:

> [T]here was no bickering or quarrelling, at that time and before; then there was neither Norman nor French, Poitevin nor Breton, Mansel nor Burgundian, Flemish nor English; there was no malicious gossip nor insulting of one another; everyone came back with all honour and all were called Franks, whether brown or red, swarthy or white.[84]

Distinct and variable groups can still be identified but are subsumed into one overarching political and religious identification: the crusader army of the

[82] Recent important contributions to the discussion over the meaning of medieval 'nationhood' and related concepts include Adrian Hastings, *The Construction of Nationhood: Ethnicity, Religion and Nationalism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997); *Medieval Europeans: Studies in Ethnic Identity and National Perspectives in Medieval Europe*, ed. by Alfred P. Smyth (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1998); and Patrick J. Geary, *The Myth of Nations: The Medieval Origins of Europe* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002). See also the essays collected in Gillingham, *The English in the Twelfth Century*.

[83] Robert Bartlett, 'Medieval and Modern Concepts of Race and Ethnicity', *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies*, 31 (2001), 39–56 (pp. 43–44).

[84] *Ambroise*, II, 146.

Angevin/Anglo-Norman monarch. Richard's own mixed blood and diverse family origins reflect but at the same time give a sense of unity and common purpose to the various 'nations' fighting under his banner. This type of self-identification based on loyalty to a particular monarch or dynasty is by no means atypical of the medieval period.[85] Thus while it is accurate in one sense to identify the authors discussed here as either 'English' or 'Norman', it is also the case that their sense of attachment to particular geographical, political, or cultural groupings is multi-dimensional and not straightforward. By contrast, their willingness to impose unitary and uncomplicated definitions on those other peoples whom they encounter reinforces their own image of 'national' or cultural worth: 'we' are part of a complex, sophisticated society; 'they' are a simple, headstrong people who lack our obviously superior values.

There is no reason why misunderstanding, prejudice, and the imposition of stereotypes need to be confined to encounters between Europeans and non-Europeans. Even within the Old World itself such mentalities are evident in the ways that Anglo-Norman authors characterized the Greek populations of Sicily and Cyprus at the time of the Third Crusade. If the Grifons and their arch-tyrant, Isaac Comnenos, are consistently depicted as treacherous, unmanly, and given to emotional excess, then this has just as much to tell us about the values of a crusading society and its view of itself as it does about the nature of two Greek communities and their inhabitants. That the inhabitants of Sicily and Cyprus were, in reality, complex individuals living in complex societies is undoubtedly true, but to Anglo-Norman eyes they remained merely 'vile and effeminate Grifons'.

[85] Bartlett, 'Medieval and Modern Concepts', p. 50.

The King, the Bishop, and the Dog Who Killed Him: Canine Cultural Encounters and Medieval Armenian Identity

Christopher MacEvitt

One of the persistent narratives of twelfth-, thirteenth-, and fourteenth-century Armenian historiography is the curious story of a Byzantine archbishop who was eaten by his own dog, a murdered Armenian king, and the revenge exacted for his death. Its appearance in the twelfth century coincided with both the disappearance of the independent kingdoms of historic Armenia and the loss of the ability of stories associated with those lands to articulate Armenian identity. While the significance altered with each retelling, at its core the story allowed Armenians to negotiate the painful shock of the annexation and conquest of their homeland and to construct a new identity as they established a new kingdom in Cilicia and Armenia. While articulating an Armenian identity based on the experience of exile, it also provided a tenuous link to the Armenian past that ameliorated the isolation and despair of that experience. That the story was framed as an encounter between an Armenian and a Byzantine is important; for medieval Armenians, the Byzantine Empire was both the embodiment of their most dearly held ideals and the target of their oldest resentments. The story of the king, the bishop, and his dog is an account of a series of encounters between Armenians and Byzantines, for it is in contrast to the Byzantines that Armenians could best assert their own identity.[1] Yet the identity the story generated

[1] Ancient and late antique Armenia, in contrast, had much closer ties to Persian culture, as Nina Garsoïan has argued. See among many other publications, her collected essays in *Armenia between Byzantium and the Sasanians* (London: Variorum, 1985) and *Church and Culture in Early Medieval Armenia* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999). The religion, culture, and political power

was not fixed. By the fourteenth century, the Armenian story of the king, the bishop, and his dog could be recounted in Old French by a Franciscan, hoping to return a half-Frankish king to the Armenian throne, and interpreted as expressing Armenian desire for unity with the Roman Catholic Church.

The Origin of the Story: Matthew of Edessa

The story of the king, the bishop, and the dog was told in three parts, each featuring an unnatural death, and first appeared in the *Chronicle* of Matthew of Edessa (Matt'eos Urhayets'i, *c.* 1070–*c.* 1136), an Armenian living under Frankish rule in northern Syria.[2] According to Matthew, the Armenian king Gagik travelled to Constantinople in 1065/66 in order to forestall the union of the Armenian Church with that of the Byzantines. The union had been negotiated by Abbot Jakobos (Jacob) K'arap'nets'i of the Sanahin monastery, who was also a *vardapet*, a unique rank in the Armenian Church which, while priestly, had no specific liturgical duties but was instead devoted to the study and teaching of theology.[3] When Gagik read the proposed document of union, he tore it up in front of the Emperor. Dismissing Jacob as unworthy of the task, Gagik took it upon himself to write a 'discourse to the Romans concerning the faith of the Armenian nation'.[4] Matthew considered this treatise important enough to be reproduced in full in his chronicle, and concluded it with a list of the most important contemporary vardapets, adding, 'indeed King Gagik was equal to these men in the profuseness of divine grace which he had received'.[5] The Emperor and the Greek theologians

of the Islamic empire (whether Umayyad, Abbasid, or Seljuk) was also seen as threatening, but did not undermine a fundamental sense of Armenian identity.

[2] He began his account with the year 952/53, or (in his accounting) the Armenian year 401, and continued it to 1136 (the Armenian year 585), perhaps the year of his death. Matthew's text has been published several times; the best edition is Matt'eos Urhayets'i, *Zhamanakagrut'iwn* (Vagharshapat: Tparan Mayr At'oroy Srboy Ējmiatsni, 1898). I will also give citations for the English translation: *Armenia and the Crusade*, trans. by Ara Edmond Dostourian (Lanham: University Press of America, 1993).

[3] See Robert Thomson, 'Vardapet in the Early Armenian Church', *Le Muséon*, 75 (1962), 367–84.

[4] Matt'eos Urhayets'i, *Zhamanakagrut'iwn*, p. 163; Matthew of Edessa, *Chronicle*, p. 111. For a discussion of the discourse as preserved by Matthew, see Jean Gouillard, 'Gagik II: Défenseur de la foi arménienne', *Travaux et mémoires*, 7 (1979), 399–418.

[5] Matt'eos Urhayets'i, *Zhamanakagrut'iwn*, p. 179; Matthew of Edessa, *Chronicle*, p. 121.

were convinced by his arguments, and Gagik left the city with expressions of friendship from the emperor. Characteristically, Matthew imagined the threat that Gagik averted not as a military attack or outright persecution, but as one of absorption: in a world in which Armenians and Greeks lived side-by-side and in which Gagik's own kingdom of Ani had recently been annexed by the Byzantines, the union of the Armenian and Greek Orthodox Churches would erase one of the fundamental markers of separation between Armenians and Byzantines. Gagik craved the Emperor's approval, yet believed the Byzantines to be heretics and prejudiced against Armenians. The story thus paradoxically denounced the union of the churches, but depicted the Emperor and the Greek theologians as accepting Gagik's theological declarations. Although the parties were apparently united in acceptance of superior Armenian doctrine, ecclesiastical union remained taboo. Encounter between Greek and Armenian served to reinforce the boundary between them.

Despite having triumphed over the Greek theologians at their own game and having won the admiration of the Emperor, Gagik was still angry. Passing through the Byzantine city of Caesarea on his way home, the King stayed with Markos, the Byzantine archbishop, 'an evil-minded schismatic and abominable heretic'.[6] Markos's adherence to the imperial church was not, however, the only issue. Markos also had the 'insolence' to name his dog 'Armen', and indeed was fond of calling all dogs 'Armen' as a way to insult the Armenian people. Over dinner, Gagik asked to see the Archbishop's dog. Awkwardly, Markos could not attract the dog's attention without using his real name. As soon as Gagik heard the Archbishop use it, he ordered his men to throw the dog and Markos into a sack and to beat the dog until it bit the Archbishop to death. He then pillaged the cleric's house and left.[7]

Fourteen years later, Gagik travelled to Tarsus to visit his relative Apelgharip. Matthew noted vaguely that 'because of one reason or another, the matter was not resolved amicably', and Gagik again left enraged. After 'capturing all the chiefs in the region', Gagik arrived at the castle of Kyzistra, controlled by three Byzantine brothers, the sons of Mantale. Accompanied by only three of his entourage, Gagik greeted the brothers as friends; but the brothers responded by dragging Gagik from his horse and taking him captive. When his fellow Armenians besieged the castle hoping to free Gagik, the 'deicide' Byzantines strangled him and then

[6] Matt'eos Urhayets'i, *Zhamanakagrut'iwn*, p. 180; Matthew of Edessa, *Chronicle*, p. 121.

[7] Matt'eos Urhayets'i, *Zhamanakagrut'iwn*, p. 180; Matthew of Edessa, *Chronicle*, pp. 122–23.

hanged the King from the ramparts, presumably to convince the besiegers that their efforts to save the King were in vain.[8] Matthew made no explicit connection between Gagik's murder of the Archbishop and his own death; only the shared themes of the episodes — violence, honour, betrayal, and Byzantine-Armenian enmity — tied them together.

The murder of Gagik was finally avenged by 'the mighty and great prince' T'oros thirty-two years after the King's death. T'oros, Matthew informed his readers, was an ally of one of the three sons of Mantale, and had negotiated with them for control of their castle, located on the edge of T'oros' territory. When he came to assume control over the castle, however, the brothers refused to surrender it. T'oros left in anger and then returned stealthily, ambushed the castle, and captured the three brothers. T'oros demanded the sword and garments of Gagik, and then tortured one of the brothers to find out where their treasury was hidden. He refused to tell, taunting the Armenian, saying, 'You are an Armenian, while we are Roman noblemen; what answer will you give the emperor for having mistreated a Roman?' T'oros responded in fury, 'who are you three to have killed the heroic and divinely-anointed Armenian king; what answer will you give to the Armenian nation?', then clubbed him to death. Matthew recounted that 'after this, T'oros gave thanks to God for his justice in avenging the blood of the Armenian king Gagik, for his grandfather Rupen had been an officer in Gagik's army'.[9] T'oros thus re-enacted Gagik's own encounter with the Byzantine brothers, featuring an initially friendly visit, followed by an ambush and death, but in a way that produced a proper ending — life and the victory for the father of Armenian kings, and death and defeat for the Byzantines.

Matthew wrote during the 'interregnum' period of Armenian history; his account chronicled the loss of the Armenian kingdoms of historic Armenia to Byzantine annexation and Turkish invasion, but he died before the emergence of a new Armenian kingdom in Cilicia and Syria (Levon I assumed the title of king in 1198).[10] The story of the king, the bishop, and his dog was just one of many he

[8] Matt'eos Urhayets'i, *Zhamanakagrut'iwn*, pp. 219–20; Matthew of Edessa, *Chronicle*, pp. 144–45.

[9] Matt'eos Urhayets'i, *Zhamanakagrut'iwn*, pp. 318–21; Matthew of Edessa, *Chronicle*, pp. 207–09.

[10] Armenians were not entirely deprived of political and military authority, however. Armenian warlords and princes controlled much of the hilly countryside of northern Syria and Cilicia in the late eleventh and throughout the twelfth century. Their power, however, was provisional, dependent on vague relationships with Frankish, Byzantine, and Turkish rulers.

recounted about Gagik, a figure who represented the tragic experience of exile and captivity shared by many Armenians in the eleventh century. When the Armenian patriarch Khach'ik died in 1065/66, for example, Matthew lamented, 'he resided in an alien country, and he considered himself a foreigner under the rule of the Greeks'.[11] Matthew identified his own community as one suffering the ignominies of exile, mourning that the Armenians of Syria and Cilicia were 'left guardianless in an alien land, since they left their ancestral home'.[12] The identity of the exile encompassed a complex set of relationships to land, authority, and God. The Bible provided the sense that defeat and exile were not incompatible with a special relationship with God. Many Christian communities, including Armenians and Franks, believed that they were the spiritual chosen people of God, and that the triumphs and travails of the first Israelites prefigured their own experiences.[13] The mournful cry of the exile could thus also be the triumphal call of God's beloved.[14] The biblical trope, however, also implied that the suffering of the community was just punishment for its sinfulness. Nevertheless, many who employed the language of exile also evoked naturalistic explanations — their enemies defeated them because they had larger armies or better military leaders. The balance between the two was often difficult to manage. For Matthew, the Armenian experience of exile was a result of Armenian sin, but that sin was a consequence of the end of the millennium. Christ's death and resurrection had imprisoned Satan for a thousand years, but by the mid-eleventh century the devil's time had been served and he

[11] Matt'eos Urhayets'i, *Zhamanakagrut'iwn*, p. 153; Matthew of Edessa, *Chronicle*, p. 106.

[12] Matt'eos Urhayets'i, *Zhamanakagrut'iwn*, p. 300; Matthew of Edessa, *Chronicle*, p. 196. About Matthew himself we know little. In his chronicle he calls himself a monk, and the epithet of Urhayets'i (of Edessa) may thus have indicated where he was born rather than the location of his monastery. He never named the monastery to which he belonged. He lived at least at the end of his life in K'esun, a town approximately one hundred miles north-west of Edessa, which at that time was under Frankish rule, but earlier had been part of the domain of a local warlord, Kogh Vasil. Just outside K'esun was the important monastery of Karmir Vank' to which Matthew referred often in his account; it may have been his home. For more see Christopher MacEvitt, 'The *Chronicle* of Matthew of Edessa: Apocalypse, the First Crusade and the Armenian Diaspora', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 61 (2007), 157–81.

[13] Walter Pohl, 'The Construction of Communities and the Persistence of Paradox: An Introduction', in *The Construction of Communities in the Early Middle Ages: Texts, Resources and Artefacts*, ed. by Richard Corradini, Max Diesenberger, and Helmut Reimitz (Leiden: Brill, 2003), pp. 1–15; Herwig Wolfram, '*Origo et Religio*: Ethnic Traditions and Literature in Early Medieval Texts', *Early Medieval Europe*, 3 (1994), 19–38.

[14] See the collected essays in *Exile in the Middle Ages*, ed. by Laura Napran and Elisabeth van Houts (Turnhout: Brepols, 2004).

was once again free to roam the terrestrial globe. Both Armenian sinfulness and Turkish aggression arose from this same source.

Gagik's encounter with the Byzantine bishop became a pivotal moment in Armenian history in the eyes of subsequent chroniclers. The first to pick it up was the late twelfth-century chronicler Samuel Anets'iots', who added one further element to the story. His chronicle contains generally brief accounts of various events year by year, but we know even less about Samuel than we do about Matthew. Samuel clearly had read Matthew, and followed him for much of his eleventh- and twelfth-century history. Samuel did not bother with all the details of the story, leaving out the entire episode of the bishop and the dog. He recounted the murder of Gagik, condensing the action so that T'oros 'did not wait to avenge the murder of King Gagik; because having seized the sons of Mantale, he killed them'.[15] Samuel, however, added that T'oros removed an image of the Mother of God in the fortress of the sons of Mantale and placed it in the newly constructed church at his principal fortress of Anazarba.[16] The story of the icon has a parallel in Matthew of Edessa. He also recounted that T'oros acquired an icon of the Mother of God, but claimed that the Rupenian had purchased it from another Armenian lord, T'at'ul of Marash, in 1104/05. When T'at'ul could no longer defend his city, he gave it to the Franks and sold the icon to T'oros.[17] The appearance of two stories linking T'oros to an image of Mary suggests that by the later twelfth century, the church at Anazarba had such an image popularly associated with the prince. Samuel's transformation of the story from purchase from another Armenian to seizure from enemy Byzantines gave the image the aura of a palladium. Icons of the Virgin Mary had served as protectors and symbols of Byzantine cities and even of imperial power itself.[18] When the Byzantine emperor

[15] Samuel Anets'iots', 'Extraits de la chronographie de Samuel d'Ani', in *Recueil des historiens des croisades: Documents arméniens*, 2 vols (Paris: Imprimerie impériale, 1869) I, 449. For more on Samuel and Armenian historiography, see Tim Greenwood, 'Armenian Sources', *Proceedings of the British Academy*, 132 (2007), 253–82 (repr. in *Byzantines and Crusaders in Non-Greek Sources, 1025–1204*, ed. by Mary Whitby (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), pp. 221–52).

[16] For more on Anazarba, see V. Langlois, 'Voyage dans la Cilicie, Anazarve et ses environs', *Revue archéologique*, 13 (1856), 366–68; Robert Edwards, 'Ecclesiastical Architecture in the Fortifications of Armenian Cilicia', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 36 (1982), 155–76; Robert Edwards, 'Ecclesiastical Architecture in the Fortifications of Armenian Cilicia: Second Report', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 37 (1983), 123–46.

[17] Matt'eos Urhayets'i, *Zhamanakagrut'iwn*, p. 298; Matthew of Edessa, *Chronicle*, p. 195.

[18] Christine Angelidi and Titos Papamastorakis, 'Picturing the Spiritual Protector: from Blachernitissa to Hodegetria', in *Images of the Mother of God: Perceptions of the Theotokos in Byzantium*, ed. by Maria Vassilaki (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), pp. 209–23.

John II Komnenos besieged and captured Anazarba in 1137, he took the image back to Constantinople.[19] While the chronicles are vague about the icon, its connection with the last king of ancient Armenia and the ancestor of the new kings of Cilician Armenia, along with its seizure during Byzantine conquest, suggest that the icon was a physical assertion of the continuity of Armenian existence.

Aristakes Lastivertts'i

Matthew was not the first historian to characterize the eleventh-century experience of Armenians as one of exile; that first emerged as a theme in the eleventh-century Armenian chronicle of Aristakes Lastivertts'i, who lived through the period when the major Armenian kingdoms disappeared through Byzantine annexations and Turkish invasions. His account covered the years from 1000 to 1071, and was written between 1072 and 1087. As his name suggests, he was from a town named Lastivert, which was near Artsn, approximately twenty miles north of Karin (modern Ezerum). While Matthew saw both the Turks and the Byzantines as oppressors, Aristakes focused largely on the suffering the Turkish conquest brought Armenians, who 'were established as strangers departed for a second exile, pursued by rebellious wanderers'.[20] The surrender of the city and kingdom of Ani to the Byzantines marked a decisive moment for Aristakes; following this, he sometimes later numbered years by 'our captivity'.[21] The chronicler's vivid description of attacks, conquests, and massacres was buttressed by frequent citation of the Bible. Aristakes identified himself with the prophets of the past who warned Israel of its imminent destruction, telling his readers that 'this is the moment for me of adding my own sobs to the words of lamentation of Jeremiah, "the roads of Zion lament, because nobody passes over them any longer"'.[22] Like a biblical prophet, Aristakes saw the annexations and particularly

[19] Robert W. Edwards, *Fortifications of Armenian Cilicia* (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1987), p. 67.

[20] Aristakes Lastivertts'i, *Patmut'iwn Aristakisi Lastivertts'woy*, ed. by K. N. Iuzbashian (Erevan: Haykakan SSR Gitut'yunneri Akademiayi Hrastarakjut'yun, 1963), p. 22; translated in Aristakès de Lastivert, *Récit des malheurs de la nation arménienne*, by Marius Canard and Haïg Berbérian (Bruxelles: Éditions de Byzantion, 1973), p. 2. See also Robert W. Thomson, 'Aristakes of Lastivert and Armenian Reactions to Invasion', in *Armenian Karin/Ezerum*, ed. by Richard G. Hovannisian (Costa Mesa, CA: Mazda, 2003), pp. 73–88.

[21] Aristakes, *Patmut'iwn*, p. 67; *Récit*, pp. 58–59.

[22] Lamentations 1. 4; Aristakes, *Patmut'iwn*, p. 61; *Récit*, p. 49.

the invasions and massacres as divine punishment for the sins of the Armenians. He offered his reader little hope that their suffering would end. In this, he echoed the darkest theological significance of exile. Like contemporary Jews in Christian imagination, Armenians had offended God and been deprived of their kingdom. Whether Armenians could hope to regain God's favour was left in doubt.

Exile encompassed two kinds of encounters. The first was the experience of being, in effect, a refugee, fleeing one's homeland as a result of persecution, and finding oneself in a strange and unfamiliar land. The second was the experience of dispossession, continuing to survive in one's homeland under foreign domination, deprived of the rule and guidance of one's own princes. Aristakes mourned that 'the cavalry remained without a leader and was dispersed; some went to Persia, others to Greece and others to Georgia. The noble group of the *azat* [the lower nobility] abandoned their patrimonial lands'.[23] What had been lost was not just the land, but a complete society, properly led by its princes and patriarchs. In his conclusion, Aristakes proclaimed, 'for us, this is the most painful, that we do not have a king or princes, nor a protector or a teacher for the body and for the soul, and that we are not able to find a refuge. Exhausted, we have been forced to live in the kingdom of the pagans, suffering, day after day, from the harsh blows of the whip'.[24]

The experience of exile not only sundered Armenians from their land and their leaders; it effectively took away their own history. Armenians had often struggled in the past to maintain a sense of identity, sandwiched as they were first between the great empires of Rome and Persia, and then between their successors, the Byzantine and Islamic empires. The strong Armenian historiographical tradition provided a reassuring account of what it meant to be Armenian and provided idealized portraits of great Armenian leaders who had faced adversity and even exile, and remained loyal to an Armenian identity, usually represented as fidelity to the Armenian Christian tradition. Like many peoples, Armenians identified their common bond as descent from an ancient and royal ancestor. Their name for themselves in their own language was 'Hay' and their land was 'Hayastan'. The name derived from Hayk, the son of T'ogarma, whose name was also used to evoke all Armenians. T'ogarma linked Armenians to the most extensive and authoritative family tree of the Christian world — the genealogy of the Hebrew Bible. T'ogarma was a grandson of Japheth, and thus a descendant of Noah. The achievements of Armenian kings were also a source of pride. Through historians

[23] Aristakes, *Patmut'iwn*, p. 60; *Récit*, p. 49.

[24] Aristakes, *Patmut'iwn*, p. 97; *Récit*, p. 131.

such as Agat'angelos and Movses Khorenats'i, the Armenians remembered the Arsacid (Arshakuni) kings, such as Trdat III (Tiridates), who ruled Armenia in antiquity. The kings of the medieval period also were given venerable pasts that tied Armenians to other great nations.[25] The Mamikonians claimed descent from a Chinese exile, the Artsruni looked to the kings of ancient Assyria for their ancestors, and the Bagratuni claimed to be descended from a Jewish companion of the Maccabees, himself descended from King David.

Christianity was the second pillar on which Armenian identity rested. The very historiographical tradition that preserved the Armenian past was a product of Christian insistence on literacy; the Armenian alphabet was created to allow the translation of the Bible, saints' lives, and patristic texts into Armenian, and the first 'history' in the long Armenian historiographic tradition was the *Life of Mashtots'*, the biography of the creator of the alphabet.[26] According to tradition, the apostles Bartholomew and Thaddeus began the evangelization of Armenia,[27] and many believed that Abgar, King of Edessa in the first century, was both an Armenian and the first Christian monarch, having received letters sent from Jerusalem by Jesus himself.[28] The conversion of the Arsacid king Trdat (Tiridates III) in the early fourth century by the first patriarch of the autonomous Armenian Church, Grigor Lusavorich' (St Gregory the Illuminator) and by the martyr Hrip'sime became in historical memory the foundation of a new Christian Armenia.

The Arsacid dynasty ruled until 428; the last king committed suicide in Persian captivity. The tumults of late antique Armenia, divided between Rome and Persia, combined with the ideology of Christian suffering to produce a new lineage of Armenian valour — the martyr who died defending both Armenian lands and Christianity. Particularly celebrated was Vardan Mamikonian, who died in 451 resisting a Persian invasion intent on imposing Zoroastrianism on Armenia. His martyrdom is still commemorated as an important part of the Armenian

[25] Robert W. Thomson, *Agathangelos: History of the Armenians* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1976) (this includes both the Armenian text without the critical apparatus, and an English translation); Movses Khorenats'i, *Patmut'iwn Hayots'*, ed. by M. Abelean and S. Yarut'iwnean (Tiflis: Martirosian, 1913); trans. by Robert W. Thomson, *History of the Armenians* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1978).

[26] Koriwn, *Vark' Mashtots'i*, ed. by Manuk Abeghyan (Erevan: Haypethrat, 1941).

[27] Michel van Esbroeck, 'La Naissance du culte de saint Barthélémy en Arménie', *Revue des études arméniennes*, 17 (1983), 171–95.

[28] Movses Khorenats'i, *Patmut'iwn Hayots'*, II.27, p. 144.

liturgical calendar.[29] Other Armenians were cast in the same mould, such as Vardan's daughter Shushanik, Mushel Mamikonian in 775, and Smbat Bagratuni 'the Confessor' in the mid-ninth century. The power of martyrography in Armenian culture even transformed aristocratic identities; early sources suggest that the Bagratuni family was in origin Persian, and recorded that their ancestor had abandoned St Vardan on the battlefield in 451, but Movses Khorenats'i, a historian of the dynasty, claimed instead that the family was in origin Jewish, and had fought with the Maccabees. The betrayal of a Christian martyr was thus erased with the fidelity of a Jewish one.[30]

The Armenian communities struggling to survive the harsh world of the eleventh century found little solace in the stories of the martyrs, kings, and heroes of the past — or at least, Aristakes and Matthew did not. Unlike earlier Armenian historians, they did not begin their accounts with Adam or with the first heroes of the Armenian tradition; Aristakes began his history in the year 1000, while Matthew began his in 951/52. Matthew and Aristakes both alluded to St Grigor Lusavorich' and other early patriarchs, but rarely mentioned early royal or aristocratic heroes. For Matthew, the place in the memory of Armenians once filled by figures like Trdat and St Vardan was now filled by figures, like Gagik, from the last generations dwelling in Armenia before 'the calamity', as Matthew called the Turkish invasions.

A New Kingdom and a New Past

For Matthew, T'oros, Gagik's avenger, was only one 'mighty' prince among many Armenian warlords whom he admired. Later generations of Armenians, however, knew him as a member of a family, the Rupenians (an epithet given to the dynasty by modern historians, based on the name of T'oros' grandfather Rupen), who at the end of the twelfth century became the new royal Armenian family. Throughout the twelfth century, they struggled to control Cilicia against the Franks, the Byzantines, and the Seljuk sultans of Rum, and by 1172 gained lasting hegemony. In 1198, Levon, grandnephew of T'oros, petitioned the Holy Roman Emperor, Henry VI, for a crown, and thus became the first Armenian king in over a cen-

[29] Nina Garsoïan, 'Reality and Myth in Armenian History', in *Church and Culture in Early Medieval Armenia* (Aldershot: Variorum, 1999) (first publ. in *The East and the Meaning of History (International Conference 23–27 November, 1992)* (Rome: Bardi, 1994), pp. 117–45).

[30] Garsoïan, 'Reality and Myth', pp. 117–45.

tury.[31] While a crown is a crown, receiving that crown through petition to a Western monarch provided little ideological grounding for a dynasty unsteady on the throne. Levon's grandson, Levon II (1270–89), commissioned his chancellor, Vahram of Edessa, to compose a history of the new kingdom.[32] His rhymed chronicle merged many elements from the Armenian historiographical tradition into a defence of the existence of the new kingdom, and more importantly, of the new dynasty.[33]

After a short introduction in which he announced that his account was a continuation of the work of the patriarch Nerses, Vahram began his poetic history in a vaguely defined moment in late antiquity. For Vahram, as for many Christians of the Levant, the Christian Roman Empire of Constantine and Theodosius represented a time of perfection, when ecclesiastical unity was matched by the political unity of the Roman *imperium*. Noticeably lacking from Vahram's account were Levon's royal predecessors — in particular, Trdat, the first Christian Armenian king. This was a point with contemporary political significance; in order to receive the crown from the Holy Roman Emperor, Levon I brought the Armenian Church (or at least that part of it within his realm) into union with the Roman Catholic Church. Union with the Catholic Church required a reconsideration of early Armenian history. Vahram effectively erased the distinct Armenian ecclesiastical and royal tradition within his chronicle, submerging it in the greater Christian ecumene.

Vahram condensed seven hundred years of history into forty-five lines of poetry. The ecumenical harmony of early Christianity was destroyed by Christians who 'lied and transgressed the law'; Vahram conveniently neglected to assign blame on any one group for this division.[34] The anger of God summoned forth 'a fire lit in Arabia', Mohammed, who established an empire which was in turn

[31] For a general overview of the history of the Armenian kingdom, see *The Cilician Kingdom of Armenia*, ed. by T. S. R. Boase (New York: St Martin's, 1978).

[32] Furthermore, Levon II himself was the product of another change in dynasty: his mother, Zabel (d. *c.* 1252) was the daughter and heir of the first king, Levon I (1198–1219). After Levon's death, Constantine of Barberon (leader of a family known as the Het'umids) was regent for Zabel, and forced the young queen to marry his son, Het'um (1226–69). Levon II therefore had to confront both the novelty of his throne, and his father's usurpation of the kingship.

[33] Vahram suggests that marriage proceeded with the agreement of all the barons of the kingdom and gave no clue that Zabel fiercely resisted the marriage: Vahram d'Edesse, 'Chronique rimée des rois de la Petite Arménie', in *Recueil des historiens des croisades* (see n. 15, above), I, 516–18, ll. 861–902.

[34] Vahram d'Edesse, 'Chronique rimée', I, 495, l. 81.

ravished by the Turks. The Turks swept over the earth, arriving at last in the land of the Armenians where they 'imposed on them their heavy yoke'.[35] The Armenians, 'unable to bear their suffering [...] abandoned their country to emigrate to a strange land'.[36] What he skips over is instructive. The glory of the past is not, as one might expect, in the period of Armenian kingship in either late antiquity under the Arsacid, or in the tenth century under the Bagratuni, Artsruni and other dynasties, but under the Roman emperors. None of these dynasties appear at all in Vahram's account, nor does he praise the great martyrs of the past. The goal of the prologue was to reach the age of displacement and exile.

Vahram took up Aristakes's and Matthew's theme of exile and made it a defining marker of Armenian kingship. The first Armenian king mentioned in the chronicle was Gagik II of Ani. Vahram emphasized Gagik's role in driving Armenians into exile; he 'gave all the lands over which he was master to the emperor of Romans' in return for lands in Cappadocia[37] and thus 'established the Armenian people in a strange land, in the midst of the Greeks'.[38] Vahram was clearly familiar with the work of Matthew of Edessa, and he took much of his information on Gagik from the earlier chronicler. Vahram gave roughly the same version of the murder of the Archbishop as Matthew. Yet in the following acts of the drama, Vahram again emphasized the connections between Gagik and exile. Following Gagik's murder by the Romans, the Armenians were again forced to flee. Rupen, who is just a name in Matthew's account, here became a relative of Gagik and the Joshua leading his people to their new home and new kingdom in Cilicia.[39] Nor did Vahram neglect the rest of the story, making sure to recount how Rupen's grandson T'oros killed the sons of Mantale in revenge, destroyed their castle, and placed the image of the Mother of God in the church at Anazarba.

Vahram continued to use exile as a theme for the Rupenians and Armenians generally after he narrated how they came to settle on their new land. The capture of Levon (brother of T'oros) and his sons by emperor John II Komnenos in the 1130s received considerable attention. Vahram explicitly labelled it a time of 'exile',[40] and Levon admits to his son in the narrative that they lost their lands

[35] Vahram d'Edesse, 'Chronique rimée', I, 496, l. 114.

[36] Vahram d'Edesse, 'Chronique rimée', I, 496, 116, ll. 120–21.

[37] Vahram d'Edesse, 'Chronique rimée', I, 496, ll. 125–26.

[38] Vahram d'Edesse, 'Chronique rimée', I, 496, ll. 131–32.

[39] Vahram d'Edesse, 'Chronique rimée', I, 497, ll. 161–68.

[40] Vahram d'Edesse, 'Chronique rimée', I, 502, l. 354.

'because of our sins'.[41] Yet even as Levon acknowledges the sins of the Armenian people (and perhaps of his own family), he also tells his son, T'oros, of their redemption. T'oros had a dream of an old man resplendent in glory who gave him a loaf of bread on which was placed a fish. Rather than explicating in terms of Christian iconography, Levon interprets the dream to say that T'oros would regain all the lands that his father had lost, as represented by the bread he had been given. The fish represents sovereignty over the sea, and thus prosperity.[42]

In the eyes of Vahram, this second T'oros began the job of reconstituting the Armenian nation in exile. Once again, exile and its repercussions were resolved through an encounter with the Byzantines. When T'oros defeated the Byzantines in battle, he allowed some of the captured soldiers to be ransomed while others were executed. The Armenian allies of the Byzantines, however, in particular Oshin of Lampron and the Nat'anil dynasty of Asgouras, 'princes of the nation of Hayk, émigrés from their country', T'oros released after having bound them with the ties of friendship'.[43] T'oros thus liberated them from their servitude under the Byzantines, and restored them to their proper place under an Armenian.[44] When T'oros's brother Levon received crowns from both the Byzantines and the Holy Roman Emperor, Vahram proclaimed that 'the Armenian nation was released from its decline, and its empire was restored'.[45] The story of Gagik came therefore to serve as a *translatio imperii*, justifying the passing of legitimate royal authority from the last king of old Armenia to the first king of new Armenia, but also as a paradigm establishing the Byzantines as the 'other' against which Armenians identified themselves.[46]

[41] Vahram d'Edesse, 'Chronique rimée', I ,502, l. 374.

[42] Vahram d'Edesse, 'Chronique rimée', I, 502, ll. 373–79.

[43] Vahram d'Edesse, 'Chronique rimée', I, 506, l. 523.

[44] Oshin was also a Het'umid, and thus from Levon II's paternal family (as the Nat'anil may also have been). T'oros's friendship with them had a contemporary political resonance as well.

[45] Vahram d'Edesse, 'Chronique rimée', I, 512, l. 754.

[46] The murder of Gagik II by the sons of Mantale is the first item in the short chronology assembled by Het'um of Korykos (1230/45–1309). Het'um continues on with the next item to note that 'his relative Rupen came to inhabit the country of Gibodar'. While positing no direct link between the two, Het'um nevertheless constructs a sense of the passing of legitimate authority from one to the other. The next item states that 'his son, Constantine, captured Vagha and ruled over the Armenian nation' ('Table chronologique de Héthoum, comte de Gorigos', in *Recueil des historiens des croisades* (see n. 15, above), I, 471).

While Vahram drew on and developed Matthew's use of the story of Gagik's encounter with the Byzantines, the insistence on the distinctiveness of the Armenian religious tradition, embodied in the account of Gagik's confrontation with the Greek theologians in Constantinople, disappeared.[47] In return for the crown from the Holy Roman Emperor, Levon agreed to bring the Armenian Church into liturgical and doctrinal conformity with the Roman Church. Even though the Greeks were heterodox from both a Catholic and Armenian perspective, though for different reasons, Vahram avoided depicting Gagik as attacking Greek heresy. To do so would raise the troubling question of what the King was defending — an autonomous Armenian religious tradition, or Roman Catholicism?

Kirakos of Ganjak

The story of the king, the bishop, and his dog also appealed to chroniclers who were not attempting to justify the establishment of a new Armenian kingdom in Cilicia. Kirakos of Ganjak (Kirakos Ganjakets'i), writing in the later thirteenth century, positioned himself as part of the ancient Armenian historiographic tradition; unlike Matthew of Edessa, Aristakes, or Vahram, Kirakos began his chronicle with a list of the great Armenian historians on whose work he relied (including at the end both Aristakes and Matthew). His history likewise began in the fourth century with St Grigor Lusavorich', and included Trdat and other early Armenian kings, as well as figures such as St Vahan Mamikonian. For Kirakos, the trauma of the eleventh century did not bring rupture with the ancient Armenian historiographic tradition. Yet Kirakos still found the account of the encounter of Gagik with the Byzantines compelling, in part because it was emblematic of tensions between Greeks and Armenians. The individual encounter of Gagik and Markos stood for countless other such encounters. Curiously, Kirakos did not include Gagik's confrontation in Constantinople, recording that the King was returning from 'a visit' to the Emperor when he met Markos.[48] Perhaps because

[47] Smbat the Constable (1208–1276, brother of King Het'um I) also featured Gagik and his murder prominently. The capture of Vagha by the Rupenians is dated as 'after the murder of King Gagik'. Smbat also related the vengeance of T'oros, expanding the story as it had been past down from Matthew, though his account verbally echoes Matthew's at many points ('Chronique du royaume de la petite Arménie', in *Recueil des historiens des croisades: Documents arméniens* (see n. 15, above), I, 610, 611–13).

[48] Kirakos Ganjakets'i, *Patmut'iwn*, ed. by K. A. Melik'-Ohanjanyan (Erevan: Haykakan SSR Gitut'yunneri Akademiayi Hrastarakjut'yun, 1963), p. 100; see also Greenwood, 'Armenian Sources', pp. 221–52.

Kirakos, unlike Matthew, was a vardapet himself, he was unwilling to portray the King as surpassing those of his own rank. According to Kirakos, Markos named his dog 'Armen' not just because he personally hated Armenians, but because of 'the hatred of the Greeks against the Armenians'.[49] Kirakos thus dispensed with the specific elements of the story that led to Gagik's anger towards Markos, and generalized Markos's hatred of Armenians to all Greeks.

The second and third acts of the story also become generalized through the use of romantic narrative elements. Leaving aside Matthew's story, embedded as it was in the political realities of the eleventh century, Kirakos described Gagik as dying by going out hunting one day accompanied by only one companion, and falling asleep. When he awoke, the King found himself in a castle, captured by unnamed Greeks, who threw him from the walls in revenge for his murder of Archbishop Markos. This in itself is a new addition; Kirakos explicitly linked Gagik's murder of the Archbishop to the King's own murder, giving the Byzantines a motive for their attack on the Armenian. The young companion, meanwhile, was himself captured, sold into slavery, bought by an Armenian, freed, and given the daughter of his liberator's hand in marriage. He became friends with a Greek bishop who controlled the castle of Partzrpert north of Adana. One day as he was hunting partridges, he met the Bishop and invited him to dine, and once the two men were alone, he strangled the Greek in explicit revenge for Gagik's death. The avenging Armenian in this account did not even kill the murderers of Gagik, but instead killed another Byzantine cleric in a fit of pique, replicating Gagik's own actions.[50]

[49] Kirakos Ganjakets'i, *Patmut'iwn*, p. 100.

[50] Kirakos named the person 'the ancestor of our king Levon'. Shortly thereafter he confirmed the connection, telling his readers that 'T'oros and his brother Stephane were sons of the prince, Levon, son of Constantine, son of Rupen, and grandsons of the man whom I mentioned above, connected in line and descent to Gagik Artsruni' (*Patmut'iwn*, p. 109). Kirakos's distance from the royal court in Cilicia meant he erred in his genealogical information and therefore garbled his Gagiks. The Rupenians never claimed descent from the Artsruni; this appears to be a garbling of the tradition that made Rupen first an officer in Gagik II Bagratuni's army, and then into an ill-defined relative (Nicolas Adontz, 'L'aïeul des Roubeniens', in *Études Arméno-Byzantines* (Lisbon: Livraria Bertrand, 1965), pp. 177–95.) Kirakos has also removed the original protagonist of the story, T'oros, who was only a great-uncle of the future king, and replaced him with his father Rupen. This tradition proved popular with other Armenian historians; the seventeenth-century Armenian chronicler Martiros of Crimea presented Rupen as both a relative of Gagik Bagratuni and his avenger. See 'Liste rimée des souvrains de la petite Arménie', in *Recueil des historiens des croisades* (see n. 15, above), I, 684.

The 'Chronique' of Jean Dardel: Armenians between Greeks and Franks

The final transformation of the story of the encounter of Gagik and the Byzantines appeared in a source quite different from the others discussed. Written in Old French and preserved in a single manuscript, the late fourteenth-century *Chronique d'Arménie* was composed after the Armenian communities of Cilicia had once again lost their king and had fallen under foreign domination. The author, however, was not an Armenian, but a Franciscan named Jean Dardel who had gone on pilgrimage to the Levant in the summer of 1377. In Cairo he met Levon V, the last king of the Armenians, who had been captured by the Mamluks two years earlier during the final conquest of Cilicia. Jean visited the King in prison and, moved by his plight, became his confessor and secretary. Jean laboured to free Levon, and finally succeeded in 1382. Once released, Levon named Jean chancellor of the kingdom-in-exile.

Levon was an unlikely king of the Armenians, although he was the great-grandson of Levon II through his grandmother. He was, first of all, a bastard, and secondly was raised largely in Cyprus, rather than Armenian Cilicia.[51] Levon improbably came to the throne as a result of the complex dynastic struggles of Cilicia in the fourteenth century. His father, John de Lusignan, had a Frankish father and an Armenian mother, and was constable of the Armenian kingdom under Levon IV (1320–41). After the King's death, he was regent until his brother Guy could be convinced to leave his comfortable position in Constantinople to accept the crown in 1342. Guy, who took the regnal name of Constantine II, ruled only a short time. He and his brother Bohemund were murdered in 1344 and John, Levon's father, died of natural causes shortly before

[51] Jean Dardel, 'Chronique d'Arménie', in *Recueil des historiens des croisades* (see n. 15, above), II, 20. His father, John, belonged to the royal Lusignan family of Cyprus, and his mother was Soldane, who Dardel claimed was the daughter of an unnamed king of Georgia. She, however, does not appear anywhere other than Dardel's account, and other contemporary documents suggest that John never married Levon's mother. Many contemporaries were confused about the identity of his mother. The anonymous chronicler of St Denis believed her to be a daughter of a Greek empress, but also suggested that his father was a king. *Chronique du religieux de Saint-Denys*, ed. by M. L. Bellaguet, 6 vols (Paris: Imprimerie de Crapelet, 1834), I, 320. Rüdt-Collenberg has shown that Isabel, daughter of Guy de Lusignan (uncle of Levon), was considered the only legitimate heir of her grandfather, Amalric, Prince of Tyre — meaning that Levon could not have been legitimate. *The Rupenides, Hethumides and Lusignans: The Structure of the Armeno-Cilician Dynasties* (Paris: Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation Armenian Library, 1963), pp. 75–76.

his brothers.[52] Levon, his mother, and his brother were imprisoned by the new king, Constantine III (1344–62), but they escaped to Cyprus. It was here, in the last bastion of Frankish culture in the eastern Mediterranean, that Levon grew up. He probably had little thought of being king of the Armenians as a youth; both his illegitimate status and the seeming stability of an only distantly related dynasty on the throne meant that Levon looked to find success in Frankish Cyprus. Nevertheless, a monk of the French monastery of St Denis noted that even at the end of his life Levon could not express himself clearly in French.[53] Armenian was probably his mother tongue.

The bloody political strife of Cilicia eventually made Levon's return to the land of his birth possible. The kingdom suffered frequent invasion from the outside and forty years of near-continuous strife within. Het'um II (1289–1307), eldest son and successor of Levon II, twice abdicated the throne in favour of his brother T'oros, and once was violently dethroned by another brother, Smbat, who blinded him; Het'um then dethroned the brother (Constantine I), who rebelled against Smbat, before again abdicating in favour of T'oros's young son Levon III.[54] Following the death of Het'um's nephew, Levon IV (1320–41), the Armenian aristocracy found themselves once again out of kings, and they offered the throne to Levon's uncle, Guy de Lusignan (Constantine II), grandson of Het'um's sister Zabel. After his assassination, the throne fell to a distant junior branch of the Het'umids and was dominated by Oshin of Korikos, another Het'umid aristocrat.[55] A further source of tension within the kingdom was disagreement over how much Armenians should participate in the Frankish world

[52] Also killed were 'tous les François qu'il avoit amenez avecques lui in Armenye'. Jean Dardel, 'Chronique d'Arménie', II.27. Constantine III was a descendant of a brother of Het'um I (1226–69). This Constantine came to the throne through marriage and murder. His wife, Marie of Korykos, was sister to Queen Alice (wife of Levon IV, 1320–41), and daughter of Jeanne of Anjou (wife of King Oshin, 1308–20), who subsequently married Oshin of Korikos, regent in 1323 for his son-in-law Levon IV, and who was also a member of the Het'umid family. Oshin was in many ways the power behind the throne.

[53] *Chronique du religieux de Saint-Denys*, I.420.

[54] For more on this period, see Angus Donal Stewart, *The Armenian Kingdom and the Mamluks: War and Diplomacy during the Reigns of Het'um II (1289–1307)* (Leiden: Brill, 2001).

[55] Constantine III (IV) died without heirs, and was in turn succeeded by his cousin, Constantine IV (V) in 1365, who was himself murdered in 1373. There is some confusion about the identity of this Constantine, who is only identified by Dardel as 'the son of Hayton'. Rüdt-Collenberg argues that he was the first Constantine's paternal cousin (*Rupenides, Hethumides and Lusignans*, p. 73).

of the East, which by the fourteenth century was restricted to Cyprus. The Armenian Church was nominally subordinate to the papacy and Het'um II, for example, had ended his life as a Franciscan. The royal and aristocratic families intermarried frequently with the Franks, and Latin military orders held lands and castles in the kingdom. The cultural markers that distinguished Armenian and Frank grew increasingly blurred, provoking pro- and anti-Latin sentiments, particularly among the aristocracy and religious leaders. During the final century of its existence, the kingdom had lost much of its territory to the Mamluks and was restricted to the mountain strongholds of the Taurus range. Two years after Levon took the throne, the Mamluks captured the capital of the kingdom, Sis, as well as King Levon and his family.

The chronicle of Jean Dardel was composed, like that Matthew of Edessa or Aristakes of Lastivert, in a time of exile and invasion, when yet another Armenian king had lost his throne. The King and his confessor probably began the account while they were still in Cairo, and as Jean did not know Armenian and may not have had much familiarity with the history of Armenia prior to coming to Cairo, the King himself may have been the source for much of the early history of the account. Jean wrote his chronicle with an eye towards appealing to the Latin world. It was from that quarter that Levon had hoped for aid, and it was the negotiating power of Latin princes that eventually got him released from prison. The chronicle thus begins at a moment well known in both the Eastern and Western Christian traditions — the exchange of letters between Abgar, King of Edessa, and Jesus Christ. Jean asserted that Abgar ruled over 'la haute Armenye', following a long Armenian tradition that Abgar was Armenian. Dardel then skipped a few hundred years to discuss the reign of Derchat (the first Christian king, Trdat). Dardel also recounted the legend of the meeting of Pope Sylvester between Trdat, in which the King and St Gregory travelled to Rome, where, in the words of Jean, 'se soubmisrent à l'eglise de Romme comme vray filz et obeïssans catholicquez'.[56] Although first appearing in the fifth-century history of Agat'angelos, by the beginning of the thirteenth century the story had gained a contemporary pro-Latin significance.[57] For the Armenian reader, the stories of Abgar and Trdat confirmed the antiquity and orthodoxy of the Armenian tradition. Furthermore, they signalled a connection to Armenian antiquity that had been lost since the eleventh century. Dardel, however, wrote in Old French, and

[56] Jean Dardel, 'Chronique d'Arménie', II.3.

[57] Robert W. Thomson, 'Constantine and Trdat in the Armenian Tradition', *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*, 50 (1997), 277–89.

in Western eyes, the two stories might have conveyed the opposite, suggesting the errors of the Armenian faith, and its constant need for correction by Rome.

From the first Christian Armenian king, Dardel immediately jumped to the last king who ruled the Armenian homeland — 'Caquit', our own Gagik II, who received a generous three chapters of attention. Whereas Vahram and Kirakos had downplayed or ignored Matthew's account of Gagik's visit to Constantinople and disputation with the Greeks, Dardel restored its place in the narrative — with a twist. According to Dardel, Gagik sent envoys to Constantinople at the Emperor's request to discuss the 'question de la foi crestienne'. Gagik's envoys criticized Greek theology, not from the perspective of an autonomous Armenian tradition, but instead declaring that 'eulz et tout le people, estoient obeïssans à l'eglise de Romme'.[58] Outraged, the Emperor threw them in prison, forcing them to follow 'l'eglise de Gréce' instead of Rome. The Emperor then attempted to use the forced confessions of the ambassadors to make Gagik himself switch allegiances. Gagik came to Constantinople and demanded their release, and was himself imprisoned for a year and a day. Fearing that he would never be released, Gagik acceded to the Emperor's demands, 'mais ce fu de bouche et non de cuer'. Thus, Dardel concluded, 'commencha la hayne des Armins contre les Grecs'.

As in the earlier chronicles, Gagik represented the Armenian king as well as the trials and tribulations of the Armenian people. On one level, the story of Gagik's encounter with the Emperor was a retelling and a reversal of the story of Trdat and Constantine. A Roman emperor and an Armenian king meet, but instead of confirming Armenian orthodoxy, the Armenian king is forced into heresy. Whereas the meeting of Trdat and Constantine produced friendship between Romans and Armenians, Gagik's encounter in Constantinople produced hatred between the two peoples. If Gagik represented a reverse image of Tiridates, he also represented Levon V himself. Like Gagik, Levon too was dethroned by a foreign ruler and imprisoned, and given the strife between pro- and anti-Latin groups in Armenian Cilicia, Levon could make the argument that he was in such a condition because of his loyalty to the 'l'eglise de Romme'. It also implies that Levon was under pressure to forsake his faith as Gagik had been, a distinct possibility while he was in a Mamluk prison.[59] The example of Gagik thus held a warning for Armenians of Dardel's day. Because they failed to follow Levon, they

[58] Jean Dardel, 'Chronique d'Arménie', II.4.

[59] Dardel recorded that the Sultan told Levon, 'Roy, renyés vostre loy et soiés sarrasin, et nous vous ferons grant seigneur' ('Chronique d'Arménie', II.86, 89–90).

found themselves swept into another era of exile and persecution, as did the Armenians of Gagik's age.[60]

In the final iteration of Gagik's story, the significance Matthew originally placed on the story again comes to the fore. No longer a story intended to give legitimacy to a new royal dynasty, it once again emphasized Gagik as a defender of the Armenian faith, which was defined as coterminous with Catholicism. Dardel was less interested in Gagik's defence of Armenian honour through the murder of the Archbishop, condensing Gagik's run-in with the Archbishop, but concluded the chapter by signifying 'et ainsi fut hayne mortelle entre les Armins et les Grecs et encore est'.[61] His account of Gagik's death and his vengeance by Levon's ancestor receives only brief attention when compared to the story of Gagik in Constantinople. By placing loyalty to Rome at the heart of Gagik's motivation and arguing that his hatred of the Greeks derived from that, Dardel attempted to shift contemporary Armenian identity to one linked to Catholicism. If Gagik represented Levon as well, then the chronicle was also playing off the widespread Latin conflation of Greeks and Saracens.[62] The Greek emperor who imprisoned Gagik was implicitly likened to the Saracen (Mamluk) sultan who had imprisoned Levon.

Dardel's version of Gagik's story was intended for a Western audience rather than an Armenian one. Both Levon and Dardel spent the remainder of their days in France and Italy respectively, and Levon hoped for military aid from Western rulers to liberate his country from the Mamluks. Dardel's work effectively moved Armenian Cilicia out of the Eastern world and asserted that it had always been a part of the Western Catholic world. It is unlikely, however, that Levon's Armenian subjects got the message. Neither Levon nor Dardel ever returned to Cilicia, and there is no evidence that the Franciscan's history did either.

Conclusion

The story of the king, the bishop, and his dog began as one exploit among many of a king who had lost his throne, but came to evoke the experience of captivity and exile for Armenians from the twelfth to the fourteenth centuries. Tinged with

[60] Dardel detailed those Armenians who were not faithful to Levon, some of whom, he alleged, became Muslims ('Chronique d'Arménie, II.87).

[61] Jean Dardel, Chronique d'Arménie', II.5.

[62] See Lindsay Diggelmann's contribution to the present volume.

overtones of sectarian tension, it both confirmed a sense of an Armenian experience of exile and provided the means for overcoming the sense of dislocation and discontinuity. The implied translation of royal authority from the last of the Bagratunis to the first of the Rupenians assured at least the ruling elites of Cilicia that their power was legitimate. The prominence of the story also marked the emergence of a new body of Armenian historical writing which, while cognisant of the older tradition of Agat'angelos and Movses Khorenats'i, found events before the eleventh century no longer relevant to an Armenian sense of identity. In its final telling, the story drew both on Frankish and on Armenian traditions. Dardel connected the half-Frankish king Levon to the hallowed figures of the Armenian past, including Abgar, Trdat, and Gagik II, but also argued for a new way to overcome the gap between ancient Armenian history and fourteenth-century reality, suggesting that Armenian identity should be (and once was) rooted in adherence to the pure faith of Roman Catholicism.

Oriental Sexualities in European Representation, *c.* 1245–*c.* 1500

Kim M. Phillips

In 1986 the travel writer William Dalrymple, then a student at Cambridge, retraced the footsteps of Marco Polo from Jerusalem to the legendary palace of Kublai Khan. It was in Keriya in Western China, he says, that he witnessed a curious exchange between the local governor and a German professor in charge of a group of rowdy geomorphologists:

> The German professor was in a great state of excitement.[...] [The governor] had gone straight to the professor and asked him whether he would be so good as to sleep with his (i.e., the governor's) new and very attractive young wife.

When the professor refused his host became upset:

> I want some noble, enlightened blood in my family.[...] Are you sure, Professor, that your loins are too tired?[1]

Dalrymple claims that Marco Polo and his nineteenth-century editor Henry Yule offered similar 'saucy anecdotes' about the same region, called 'Pein' or 'Pem' in Marco's book.[2] Sexual elements add colour and comedy to travel narratives, enhance the flavour of exoticism and adventure, and most of all serve to announce the foreignness of the people described. 'These people are not like us', is the

[1] William Dalrymple, *In Xanadu* (London: HarperCollins, 1989), pp. 266–67.

[2] Dalrymple, *In Xanadu*, p. 267; *The Book of Ser Marco Polo the Venetian*, ed. by Henry Yule, 3rd edn, rev. by Henri Cordier, repr. in 2 vols (New York: Dover, 1993), I, 191–93; Marco Polo, *The Description of the World*, ed. by A. C. Moule and Paul Pelliot, 2 vols (London: Routledge, 1938), I, chap. 55, 147. In fact Polo's account of Pem describes the custom of temporary marriages allowed to wives in their husbands' absence; Dalrymple's anecdote correlates more closely with Polo's accounts of Kamul and Tibet, to be discussed below.

message implied. 'How remarkable — how charming, if peculiar — that they will do something which *we* would find unthinkable.'

Sexual behaviour is deployed as an emblem of difference in a wide range of modern writing about otherness, from studies of racial stereotyping to classic anthropology.[3] '[A]nthropology has always trafficked in the sexuality of the people we study.[...] Sex — their sex, the sex of "the Other" — has always constituted one of the gaudiest exhibits in the anthropological sideshow.'[4] Furthermore, European colonialism of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries offered curious colonists and empire-builders ample opportunities for sexual engagement with foreign peoples — consensual and otherwise, actual and symbolic.[5] Fascination for the erotic lives of other peoples is far from a purely modern concern. Early modern European travellers to Africa and the Americas made the sexual habits of encountered peoples part of their 'sideshow', using representations of female promiscuity, nudity, 'bestial' bodies, and male sodomy to elaborate their accounts of debased and primitive peoples and justify conquest and extermination.[6] The 'Orientalist' tradition of the early modern and modern eras

[3] Calvin C. Hernton, *Sex and Racism* (New York: Doubleday, 1965); Sander L. Gilman, *Difference and Pathology: Stereotypes of Sexuality, Race, and Madness* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995), especially pp. 76–128. Major examples from anthropology include Margaret Mead, *Coming of Age in Samoa* (New York: Morrow, 1923); Bronislow K. Malinowski, *Sex and Repression in Savage Society* (London: Routledge, 1927) and *The Sexual Life of Savages in North Western Melanesia* (London: Routledge, 1929); Gilbert Herdt, *Guardians of the Flutes: Idioms of Masculinity* (New York: McGraw Hill, 1981), and *The Sambia: Ritual and Gender in New Guinea* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1987). For critique see Carole S. Vance, 'Anthropology Rediscovers Sexuality: A Theoretical Comment', *Social Science and Medicine*, 33 (1991), 875–84.

[4] Don Kulick, 'Introduction: The Sexual Life of Anthropologists: Erotic Subjectivity and Ethnographic Work', in *Taboo: Sex, Identity and Erotic Subjectivity in Anthropological Fieldwork*, ed. by Don Kulick and Margaret Wilson (London: Routledge, 1995), pp. 1–28 (pp. 2–3).

[5] Ronald Hyam, *Empire and Sexuality: The British Experience* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1990); Robert J. C. Young, *Colonial Desire: Hybridity in Theory, Culture and Race* (New York: Routledge, 1995); Anne McClintock, *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest* (New York: Routledge, 1995); Ann Laura Stoler, *Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power: Race and the Intimate in Colonial Rule* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2002); Robert Aldrich, *Colonialism and Homosexuality* (New York: Routledge, 2003).

[6] Jonathan Goldberg, *Sodometries: Renaissance Texts, Modern Sexualities* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1992), pp. 179–246; Kim F. Hall, *Things of Darkness: Economies of Race and Gender in Early Modern England* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995), pp. 25–61; Jennifer L. Morgan, '"Some Could Suckle over their Shoulder": Male Travelers, Female Bodies, and the Gendering of Racial Ideology, 1500–1770', *William and Mary Quarterly*, ser. 3, 54 (1997),

created an image of the Islamic East as voluptuous, libidinous, and addicted to sensuality — an alluring mistress inviting possession by a cool, rational European master.[7] As imperial dominance has shifted from an Anglo-Franco to a North American matrix so Orientalism has shifted to the east and south-east Asian locations of US military activity. The harem has given way to the brothel, nightclub, and Internet as the location of the oriental erotic. Madame Butterfly, Suzie Wong, and the bar girls of Bangkok's Patpong Road replace the odalisque; the geisha, childlike whore, and ideal bride stand now as dominant types of oriental femininity.[8]

European ambassadors, missionaries, and merchants travelled to Asian regions beyond the Islamic East — Mongolia, China, India, Burma, and the islands of south-east Asia — from around 1245 onwards.[9] This essay explores representations of Far Eastern sexualities in late medieval travel narratives, examining the

167–92; Valerie Traub, 'Mapping the Global Body', in *Early Modern Visual Culture: Representation, Race, and Empire in Renaissance England*, ed. by Peter Erickson and Clark Hulse (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000), pp. 44–97.

[7] This theme is raised but not fully explored in Edward W. Said, *Orientalism: Western Conceptions of the Orient* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1978), pp. 138, 167, 182–90, 207–08, and is taken up by Rana Kabbani, *Europe's Myths of Orient: Devise and Rule* (Houndmills: Macmillan, 1986). See also Reina Lewis, *Gendering Orientalism: Race, Femininity and Representation* (London: Routledge, 1996) and Meyda Yegenoglu, *Colonial Fantasies: Towards a Feminist Reading of Orientalism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).

[8] Cynthia Enloe, *Bananas, Beaches and Bases: Making Feminist Sense of International Politics* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1990), pp. 35–40; *Let the Good Times Roll: Prostitution and the U.S. Military in Asia*, ed. by Saundra Pollock Sturdevant and Brenda Stoltzfus (New York: New Press, 1992); Lenore Manderson, 'Parables of Imperialism and Fantasies of the Exotic: Western Representations of Thailand — Place and Sex', and Annette Hamilton, 'Primal Dream: Masculinities, Sin and Salvation in Thailand's Sex Trade', both in *Sites of Desire, Economies of Pleasure: Sexualities in Asia and the Pacific*, ed. by Lenore Manderson and Margaret Jolly (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997), pp. 123–44 and 145–65. Journalistic approaches include Ian Buruma, *The Missionary and the Libertine: Love and War in East and West* (London: Faber and Faber, 1996), pp. xi–xxiii, and Sheridan Prasso, *The Asian Mystique: Dragon Ladies, Geisha Girls, and our Fantasies of the Exotic Orient* (New York: Public Affairs, 2005).

[9] Modern place names will be used for convenience here, but refer to geographical regions rather than political units, while medieval names for particular places will be used where appropriate. Terms such as 'Asia', 'the Orient' and the 'Far East' are admittedly problematic, but are employed here to refer to central, east, south, and south-east Asia rather than the 'Middle', 'Near' or Islamic East. Said's 'Orient' is the Middle East but his notion of Orientalism has been found helpful to scholars of modern East Asian cultures; see for example Manderson, 'Parables of Imperialism', p. 123.

uses of erotic themes and the part played by authorial motivation in the textual production of oriental sexualities. Sexualities are used here as a kind of litmus test or diagnostic criterion for medieval travel writers' perception of differences between peoples.[10] Colonialist and orientalist thinking of the early modern and modern periods found and continues to find that sexual stereotyping helps justify the political and/or cultural subjugation of foreign peoples. While few scholars have examined medieval representations of Far Eastern sexualities one does occasionally encounter medieval material pressed into the service of analysing modern colonialism and orientalism, supplying a justificatory academic lineage.

> The delinquency of the savage was intimately related to his sexual customs. [...] Missionaries were never slow to condemn what they saw as the 'licentiousness' of 'backward peoples'. In his *Travels* Marco Polo writes of a people who 'do not regard any form of sexual indulgence as a sin'.[11]

This quotation makes a characteristic rhetorical gesture, first asserting the role of sexual stereotyping in constructions of otherness then reaching for a pre-modern example, typically fragments from Marco Polo, to establish the antiquity of such Eurocentric practice.[12] What conflation of the medieval with the early modern and modern ignores is the essentially *pre-colonialist* thinking which shaped late medieval representations of the Far East. Fantasies of the Orient as a place of luxury, poison, monstrosity, and marvels prevailed, certainly. The 'Alexander' legends in circulation from the third century CE had a significant role in establishing Asia as a place of monstrous races and wondrous beasts; the eleventh-century *Marvels of the East* depicted all manner of oriental monstrosities; and the 'Letter of Prester John', a forgery which began to circulate from *c.* 1165, had a dramatic influence on European perceptions of the strangeness and allure of Asian lands.[13] In his 1188 work *Topographia Hibernia* Gerald of Wales charac-

[10] There are few existing studies, but see Scott D. Westrem, 'Medieval Western European Views of Sexuality Reflected in the Narratives of Travellers to the Orient', *Acta: Proceedings of SUNY Regional Conferences in Medieval Studies*, 14 (1990), 141–56.

[11] Jerry Phillips, 'Into the Melting Pot: Utopian and Dystopian Themes in Edmund White's *Travels in Gay America*', *Studies in Travel Writing*, 1 (1997), 170–98 (p. 171).

[12] A similar but more subtle approach is offered by Syed Manzurul Islam, *The Ethics of Travel: From Marco Polo to Kafka* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1996), pp. 163–66; critiqued by John Larner, *Marco Polo and the Discovery of the World* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999), pp. 99–101.

[13] George Cary, *The Medieval Alexander*, ed. by D. J. A. Ross (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1956); *An Eleventh-Century Anglo-Saxon Illustrated Miscellany: British Library Cotton Tiberius B.V Part 1, Together with Leaves from British Library Cotton Nero D. II*, ed. by

terizes the mysterious East as a place of luxurious wealth — silk, precious metals, gemstones, and spices — but also of pestiferous elements and poisons.[14] Tropes of the marvellous and monstrous Orient rested in turn on classical Greek and Roman traditions.[15] Educated Europeans were, therefore, deeply steeped in a cultural tradition which associated the unseen reaches of the eastern hemisphere with the exotic and this would seem to pave the way for extravagant accounts of eastern sexualities, but the reality was not nearly so straightforward. Late medieval European desire for 'knowledge' about the Far East was driven by strategic, military, and evangelical motivations as well as a yearning for information on more sophisticated ways of living, and perhaps the beginnings of a quest for otherness to help in the formation of a sense of European selfhood, but not by an urge to possess. Lacking a hegemonic discourse on Eastern otherness, medieval travel writers produced highly varied accounts of the sexual and gendered characteristics of Asian peoples.

Although European imaginations had been travelling to distant eastern parts for centuries few actual journeys took place before the mid-thirteenth century, when the way was opened after the violent conquests of the newly formed Mongolian empire. By the 1270s the Mongols occupied a vast stretch of the world from Korea to Kiev.[16] It was Pope Innocent IV's idea to send ambassadors to 'the Emperor of the Tartars' in 1245, probably with the primary aim of gaining a powerful ally in the ongoing conflict with Islam. We should therefore see his ambassadors as political emissaries rather than missionaries in any pure sense. Chief among these was the Franciscan John of Plano Carpini (Giovanni da Pian

P. McGurk and others (Copenhagen: Rosenkilde and Bagger, 1983); Mary B. Campbell, *The Witness and the Other World: Exotic European Travel Writing, 400–1600* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1988), pp. 47–86; Friedrich Zarncke, 'Der Brief des Priesters Johannes an den byzantischen Kaiser Emanuel', in *Prester John and the Ten Lost Tribes*, ed. by Charles F. Beckingham and Bernard Hamilton (Aldershot: Variorum, 1996), pp. 40–102; Vsevolod Slessarev, *Prester John: The Letter and the Legend* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1959); *La Lettre du Prétre Jean: Édition des versions en ancient français et en ancien Occitan*, ed. by Martin Gosman (Groningen: Bouma, 1982); Michael Uebel, *Ecstatic Transformation: On the Uses of Alterity in the Middle Ages* (Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005).

[14] Gerald of Wales, *The History and Topography of Ireland*, trans. by John J. O'Meara (London: Penguin, 1982), chaps 27–30.

[15] John Block Friedman, *The Monstrous Races in Medieval Art and Thought* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1981), chap. 1.

[16] J. J. Saunders, *The History of the Mongol Conquests* (London: Routledge, 1971); David Morgan, *The Mongols* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1986); Peter Jackson, *The Mongols and the West, 1221–1410* (Harlow: Pearson Education, 2005).

del Carpine), who travelled with companions to the camp of Güyük Khan outside Karakorum in 1245–47. On his return to Lyon he set about producing a record of the journey, the *Ystoria Mongalorum*.[17]

Carpini's motivations in writing were to produce a work recognized as the 'true' and full version of the journey, and to provide a dossier of information to aid in future dealings with the Mongols. He lists all the European merchants and dignitaries whom the friars met while in Mongolian-controlled territory 'to avoid any doubt arising in the minds of anyone as to our having been to the Tartars'.[18] Around one-fifth of the *Ystoria* is devoted to geographic and ethnographic material, another fifth to their history and the rise of their empire, a quarter to military tactics and technologies, and the final third or so to the itinerary and experiences of the friars themselves. Although the work is readable it was not designed for entertainment. Around fifteen manuscripts of two versions of the work survive, which is few compared with the vastly more popular works of Marco Polo and Odoric of Pordenone (Odorico Mattiussi).[19] Carpini's descriptions reached a potentially wider audience through their excerpts in Vincent de Beauvais's *Speculum historiale*, a particularly important encyclopedic work which was widely copied, translated, and became one of the earliest major works to appear in print, yet the scale of this work is such that the material on the Mongols could not be proved to be an essential factor in its popularity.[20]

[17] John of Plano Carpini, *Ystoria Mongalorum*, in *Sinica Franciscana*: *Itinera et relationes Fratrum Minorum saec. XIII et XIV*, ed. by Anastasius van den Wyngaert, 6 vols (Karachi: Ad Claras Aquas, 1929), I, 27–130; translation in *Mission to Asia: Narratives and Letters of the Franciscan Missionaries in Mongolia and China in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries*, ed. by Christopher Dawson and trans. by 'a nun of Stanbrook Abbey' (New York: Harper and Row, 1966) (originally published in 1955 as *The Mongol Mission*), pp. 2–72. Subsequent references to the *Ystoria* refer to this edition (by chapter and paragraph number) and translation (by page number). These present the longer of two versions of the text, the shorter of which survives in perhaps twelve manuscripts while the longer version, adding a lengthy final chapter narrating the friars' itinerary, exists in three. Benedict the Pole, Carpini's travel companion, produced his own brief account, edited in *Sinica Franciscana*, I, 133–43, translated in *Mission to Asia*, pp. 79–84. Extracts from the long version of Carpini's book were also copied by Vincent de Beauvais in his *Speculum historiale* of *c.* 1253: Gregory G. Guzman, 'The Encyclopedist Vincent of Beauvais and his Mongol Extracts from John of Plano Carpini and Simon of St Quentin', *Speculum*, 49 (1974), 287–307.

[18] Carpini, *Ystoria Mongalorum*, 9.49–52; *Mission to Asia*, pp. 70–72.

[19] Enrico Menestò counts fifteen extant manuscripts of Carpini in his edition, *Storia dei Mongoli* (Spoleto: Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo, 1989).

[20] The *Speculum historiale* is the third part of Vincent's massive *Speculum maius*, which sadly lacks a modern edition. See Vincent de Beauvais, *Speculum historiale*, ed. by Johann Mentelin (Stras-

It is in his ethnographic passages that Carpini discusses the marital and sexual habits of the Mongols. Like many later European observers, he comments on their polygamy: 'Each man has as many wives as he can keep, one a hundred, another fifty, another ten — one more, another less.'[21] His calm, relatively non-judgemental tone is in keeping with the general tenor of the *Ystoria*, as he describes how each wife has her own household and the husband sleeps with a different wife each night. 'One, however, is chief among the others and with her he stays more often than with the others. In spite of their numbers, they never easily quarrel among themselves.'[22] He also comments dispassionately on practices which would be considered incestuous in Christian societies:

> It is the general custom for them to marry any of their relations, with the exception of their mother, daughter, and sister by the same mother. They can however take in marriage their sisters who have only the same father, and even their fathers' wives after his death; also a younger brother may marry his brother's wife after his death; or another relation is expected to take her. All other women they take as wives without any distinction and they buy them at a very high price from their parents. After the death of their husbands the women do not easily enter into a second union, unless a man wishes to take his stepmother to wife.[23]

He paints a slightly mixed picture of Mongolian sexual morality. Discussing the Mongol sense of right and wrong he says that 'to commit fornication' is considered no sin by them, just as to kill a man, invade countries, take others' property, or otherwise cause harm are viewed neutrally, yet acknowledges laws and punishments for sexual transgression. 'They also have a law or custom of putting to death any man and woman they find openly committing adultery; similarly if a virgin commit fornication with anyone, they kill both the man and the woman.'[24]

Carpini is similarly moderate in his portrayal of Mongolian femininity. One of the key tropes of current Orientalism is the hyper-femininity and sexual appeal of East Asian women, who are regularly stereotyped as pretty, slender, docile, and submissive, yet also coquettish and sexually available.[25] Just as one of the definitive

bourg: Adolf Rusch, 1473–76), Books XXX–XXXII. Vincent combined extracts from Carpini with material from a lost work by Simon de Saint-Quentin, a member of the Dominican Ascelin's embassy to Baiju in the Armenian highlands in 1245–48.

[21] Carpini, *Ystoria Mongalorum*, 2.3; *Mission to Asia*, p. 7.

[22] Carpini, *Ystoria Mongalorum*, 4.9; *Mission to Asia*, pp. 17–18.

[23] Carpini, *Ystoria Mongalorum*, 2.3; *Mission to Asia*, p. 7.

[24] Carpini, *Ystoria Mongalorum*, 3.8 and 4.9; *Mission to Asia*, pp. 11, 17. Compare V. A. Riasanovsky, *Customary Law of the Mongol Tribes (Mongols, Buriats, Kalmucks, parts I–III)* (Harbin, China: privately printed, 1929), p. 57.

[25] See n. 8, above.

characteristics of Orientalism, in the Saidian model, is the homogenization of Eastern cultural diversity, the vast variety of actual Asian women's characters, personalities, and appearance is reduced to a dominant type. That paradigm is however widely at odds with what Carpini and later observers would say of Mongolian women:

> Young girls and women ride and gallop on horseback with agility like the men. We even saw them carrying bows and arrows. Both the men and the women are able to endure long stretches of riding. [...] Their women make everything, leather garments, tunics, shoes, leggings and everything made of leather; they also drive the carts and repair them, they load the camels, and in all their tasks they are very swift and energetic. All the women wear breeches and some of them shoot like the men.[26]

Mongolian men, he says, 'do not make anything at all, with the exception of arrows', their main tasks being to tend the flocks, to hunt, to practise archery, and to ride and manage horses — which they are taught to do from the time they are toddlers.[27] On women's appearance he remarks that although married women wear distinctive clothing and headdresses, he finds it almost impossible to tell unmarried women apart from men.[28]

Carpini's overall evaluation of the character of Mongolian women is balanced, noting what he perceives as both positive and negative qualities:

> Their women are chaste, nor does one hear any mention among them of any shameful behaviour on their part; some of them, however, in jest make use of vile and disgusting language. Discord among them seems to arise rarely or never, and although they may get very drunk, yet in their intoxication they never come to words or blows.[29]

His treatment of Mongolian sexualities and femininities is consistent with his tone throughout the *Ystoria*. He does not like or warm to the Mongolians — indeed he warns Innocent against alliance with them, urging resistance instead, and condemns their harshness towards conquered nations — but he does not despise them as a people.[30] Rather, he takes them seriously. His aim is not to demonize but to warn and inform.

[26] Carpini, *Ystoria Mongalorum*, 5.11; *Mission to Asia*, p. 18.

[27] Carpini, *Ystoria Mongalorum*, 5.10; *Mission to Asia*, p. 18.

[28] Carpini, *Ystoria Mongalorum*, 2.5; Mission *to Asia*, pp. 7–8.

[29] Carpini, *Ystoria Mongalorum*, 4.3; *Mission to Asia*, p. 15.

[30] Carpini, *Ystoria Mongalorum*, 8.3; *Mission to Asia*, p. 44. See his even-handed discussion of their 'good and bad' qualities in Chapter 4 of the *Ystoria*.

In many respects Carpini's views are echoed by a second Franciscan traveller, William of Rubruck (Guillaume de Rubrouck), who travelled from Acre to Karakorum as an envoy from King Louis IX of France in 1253–55. The nature of Rubruck's mission and his own motivations are a little complex. King Louis was undoubtedly seeking Mongolian military alliance via Christian conversion to aid in his own crusading ambitions, having already despatched a party of Dominicans to the camp of the regent Oghul Ghaimish, widow of Güyük Khan, on a similar mission, and looking to take the enterprise further.[31] William's own designs appear to have been more missionary than political, yet his book was probably composed to provide information for Louis.[32] Despite their many similarities in content, Carpini's and Rubruck's books belong in slightly different generic camps. Where Carpini's is part ethnography, part history, part military intelligence report, and part itinerary, Rubruck's belongs much more firmly to the genre of itinerary or travelogue. Less than 10 per cent of his book (Chapters 2 to 8) is devoted to direct ethnographic description; the remainder takes the form of itinerary — an account of the author's journey and personal experiences. Rubruck's work has appealed greatly to some modern readers but was little known in the Middle Ages, with only five manuscripts extant. Roger Bacon interviewed Rubruck in Paris and makes use of his information in his encyclopedic *Opus maius*, but he is not known to have had any influence on other contemporary writers.[33]

Rubruck's observations on Mongolian sexual and marital habits echo Carpini's in many respects, commenting on polygamy, use of brideprice, incestuous habits in observing none but the first and second degrees of consanguinity and none of affinity, and the inclusion of symbolic elements of violence and abduction in marriage rites.[34] He also remarks on the use of capital punishment for adultery or

[31] *Mission to Asia*, pp. xix–xx. This was the embassy of Andrew of Longjumeau (André de), recorded John of (Jean de) Joinville, *The Life of St. Louis*, trans. by René Hague, from the text ed. by Natalis de Wailly (London: Sheed and Ward, 1955), pp. 56–58, 144–49.

[32] William of Rubruck, *Itinerarium*, in *Sinica Franciscana* (see n. 17, above), I, 164–332; *Mission to Asia*, pp. 87–220. Subsequent references are to this edition and translation, as for Carpini.

[33] The Rubruck manuscripts are listed in *The Mission of Friar William of Rubruck: His Journey to the Court of the Great Khan Möngke, 1253–1255*, ed. and trans. by Peter Jackson, Hakluyt Society, ser. 2, pt 2, 173 (London: Hakluyt Society, 1990), p. 52. For Bacon's direct references to Rubruck see *The Opus maius of Roger Bacon*, trans. by Robert Belle Burke, 2 vols (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1928; repr. Bristol: Thoemmes, 2000), I, 322–23, 374, 381, 385; II, 789, 792, 806.

[34] Rubruck, *Itinerarium*, 2.8, 7.4–5; *Mission to Asia*, pp. 96, 104.

for a man who has sex with another man's servant, but does not speak of the woman's punishment in such cases.[35] He echoes some of Carpini's observations about the active roles of Tartar women — painting beautiful carts for themselves and driving these carts across expanses of countryside, sometimes twenty or thirty tied together, the similarity of unmarried women to men in dress and appearance, women's habit of riding astride like men and their wide-ranging domestic, pastoral and handiwork duties — but implies a greater degree of specificity in gender roles by locating women's work largely around the domestic base and discussing men's roles in more detail.[36] Rubruck is harsher than Carpini in commenting on the women's appearance: 'The women are wondrous fat and the less nose they have the more beautiful they are considered. They disfigure themselves hideously by painting their faces. They never lie down on a bed to give birth to their children.'[37]

In writing about Mongolian sexuality and femininity Rubruck's and Carpini's aims were primarily to inform, although in this (as in his itinerary generally) Rubruck was less dispassionate than Carpini. They and their sponsors sought political alliances and the conversion to Christianity of the Mongolian people, not to conquer or dominate them in the manner of early modern and modern colonialism. As celibate friars their perspectives on the women they encountered could hardly have been further from current attempts to package Asian femininities for mass markets in middle-brow popular culture, commercial sex, or international bride-trafficking. Rather than seeking a deep otherness, sexual or otherwise, there was a motivation to find a common humanity and to understand rather than overplay difference. Had emphasizing alienness been key to their purpose in writing Carpini and Rubruck could have easily applied standard tropes of illicit sexuality and gender. It is noticeable that neither mentions vices against nature. The sexual transgressions remarked upon are all 'natural', in the medieval sense of being potentially procreative: fornication, adultery, moderate incest, and polygamy. The most serious branches of lechery — incest in the first and second degree, rape and the 'unnatural' vices of sodomy and bestiality — all go unmentioned.[38] Had the friars wanted to demonize the ferocious Mongols they

[35] Rubruck, *Itinerarium*, 8.2; *Mission to Asia*, p. 105.

[36] Rubruck, *Itinerarium*, 2.4–5, 6.2–4, 7.1–2; *Mission to Asia*, pp. 95, 102–03.

[37] Rubruck, *Itinerarium*, 6.5; *Mission to Asia*, p. 103.

[38] In contrast, previous authors had described Mongols' use of rape as a key element of military strategy; e.g., letter of Archbishop Ivo of Narbonnes in Matthew Paris, *Chronica majora*, ed. by H. R. Luard, Rerum Britannicarum medii aevi scriptores, 57, 7 vols (London: Longman, 1872–

could have easily done so with a few references to such vices, just as they could have painted a picture of the exoticism and marvellousness of the East if this had served their purpose. A rare reference to sodomitic vice among Mongols is found in Simon de Saint-Quentin's account, recorded in Vincent de Beauvais's *Speculum historiale*. Simon is much more negative than Carpini or Rubruck in his description of the Mongols, probably as a result of ill-treatment at their hands, including three death threats, during his months of imprisonment.[39] A later papal envoy, John of Marignolli (Giovanni de' Marignolli), who travelled through Mongol-held territory in east and south Asia 1338–53, was attentive to aspects of Eastern exoticism but not to oriental sexualities.[40]

If diplomatic travellers were mostly restrained in their observations on Eastern sexualities, what perspectives were offered by medieval missionaries? Missionaries of the modern era have gained a reputation for a repressive response to non-Western sexualities and bodily display, and it would be understandable if we were to find similar preoccupations recorded by the handful of men who took Catholic Christianity to China, Persia, India, and south-east Asia for a few optimistic decades from the 1290s to 1330s. This is not the case. John of Monte Corvino (Giovanni da Montecorvino), Peregrine of Castello (Peregrino de Castello), Andrew of Perugia (Andreas de Perusio), Pascal of Vittoria (Pascal de Vittoria), and Jordanus of Sévérac (Jordanus Catalini de Sévérac) told a little of their experiences in letters to their superiors, but did not report on local sexualities.[41]

83), IV, 270–77. For the paucity of references to sodomy see my article '"They do not know the use of men": The Absence of Sodomy in Medieval Accounts of the Far East', in *Medieval Sexuality: A Casebook*, ed. by April Harper and Caroline Proctor (New York: Routledge, 2008), pp. 189–208.

[39] *Simon de Saint-Quentin: Histoire des Tartares*, ed. by Jean Richard (Paris: Geuthner, 1965), p. 37. On Simon see three articles by Gregory Guzman: 'Simon of Saint-Quentin and the Dominican Mission to the Mongol Baiju: A Reappraisal', *Speculum*, 46 (1971), 232–49; 'Simon of Saint-Quentin as Historian of the Mongols and Seljuk Turks', *Medievalia et humanistica*, n.s., 49 (1972), 155–78; and 'Encyclopedist Vincent of Beauvais'.

[40] John of (Giovanni de') Marignolli, *Relatio*, in *Sinica Franciscana* (see n. 17, above), I, 524–60; partially translated in *Cathay and the Way Thither*, ed. and trans. by Henry Yule, 2nd edn, rev. by Henri Cordier, Hakluyt Society, ser. 2, 37, 4 vols (London: Hakluyt Society, 1914; reissued New Delhi, 1998), III, 209–69.

[41] See *Sinica Franciscana*, I, 340–55; 365–68; 373–77; 501–06 (most of these in *Cathay*, III, 45–88). A possible exception is in a report by one Friar Menentillus, whom Yule claims was forwarding a letter from John of Monte Corvino, which comments of the people of southern India that 'the sins of the flesh they count not to be sin, nor are they ashamed to say so' (*Cathay*, III, 63, also pp. 5–6). However, the origins of this letter are uncertain.

Ronald Hyam has claimed that '[m]issionaries the world over, whether Catholic or Protestant, have always consistently targeted anal intercourse as one of the first traditional practices to be eliminated',[42] but if John of Monte Corvino, for one, felt he needed to stamp out sodomitic habits or other forms of lechery among the young boys who made up the core of his group of converts he did not say so. The purpose of these missionaries' reports was to comment on their evangelical successes and the potential for future conversions in Asia. They saw no need to exaggerate the foreignness or otherness of the peoples whom they hoped would become Christians. Jordanus of Sévérac produced an interesting work on *The Wonders of the East* in addition to his epistles, but again found no need to remark on erotic life.[43] The Dominican Riccold of Monte Croce (Ricoldo da Montecroce; missionary to Persia *c.* 1289–1301) comments on Tartar marital rites, polygamy, and the active roles of Mongolian women, but despite calling the Mongols 'horrible and monstrous', lacking in manners, shame or gratitude, living like beasts or migrating birds, is only mildly critical of their sexual cultures.[44]

Among the missionary accounts, Odoric of Pordenone's *Relatio* is an odd exception. Odoric, also a Franciscan, took the southerly seaward route to China via India and south-east Asia in the 1320s. His motives were avowedly those of a missionary — 'I crossed the sea and visited the countries of the unbelievers in order to win some harvest of souls.'[45] Odoric was reasonably open-minded towards the cultures he encountered, yet emphasized the otherness of Eastern peoples far more than the earlier missionaries or diplomats had. Speaking of Hormuz on the Persian Gulf, he remarks that the heat there is so great that men's testicles grow so large they hang halfway down the legs. The lives of such men are endangered by their giant testicles, and they must make use of cooling lotions and bandages to contain their monstrous members.[46] In India Odoric was horrified by

[42] Hyam, *Empire and Sexuality*, p. 186.

[43] Jordanus of Sévérac, *Mirabilia descripta*, in *Recueil de voyages et de memoires de la Société de Géographie*, ed. by Coquebert de Montbret, 8 vols (Paris: Arthus-Bertrand, 1824–66), IV (1839), 37–64; Friar Jordanus, *Mirabilia descripta: The Wonders of the East*, trans. by Henry Yule, Hakluyt Society, ser. 1, 31 (London: Hakluyt Society, 1863).

[44] Riccold of Monte Croce, *Pérégrination en Terre Sainte et au Proche Orient*, ed. by René Kappler (Paris: Champion, 1997), pp. 78–88.

[45] Odoric of Pordenone, *Relatio*, in *Sinica Franciscana* (see n. 17, above), I, 413–95; translated in Yule, *Cathay*, II, 97–277. Subsequent references are to this edition and translation. This quotation is from *Relatio*, I.1; *Cathay*, II, 97).

[46] Odoric, *Relatio*, 7.3. Note that Yule's translation, *Cathay*, II, 112–13 omits this passage — he calls it 'untranslatable' — and Cordier adds a footnote commenting on the omission.

suttee, and claimed that women, not men, drank wine and shaved their beards and faces.[47] In Lamori he was disturbed by the nudity of men and women, and was puzzled by the practice of holding women (and land) in common.[48] In Manzi (southern China) near the Yang-tze River he met 'pygmies', and was amazed that the women married and bore children from the age of five: 'But they have rational souls like ourselves.'[49] Other inhabitants of Manzi meet with his approval: 'These men are handsome enough of body, although pale, having long and sparse beards like mousers — by which I mean cats. And the women are indeed the most beautiful in the world.'[50] His book drifts into anecdotes of the exotic towards its end, telling, for example, the tale of a burgess of Manzi who has fifty virgins to serve him according to his every whim,[51] and another of the 'old man of the mountains' and his bevy of beautiful virgins.[52]

Odoric's book, although at least in part a record of an actual journey, is a rather different kind of work from most of the earlier ethnographies, itineraries, and letters. It has most in common with Jordanus's book as a record of marvels, but is unlike it in two important respects. First, it appears not to have come from the pen of Odoric himself. A first version was apparently dictated to a fellow friar of his order, Guglielmo da Solagna, in 1330, and this was reworked in improved Latin by Henry of Glatz ten years later. Second, it enjoyed significant popularity in its day. Most of the works so far discussed survive in a handful of manuscripts — from around fifteen for Carpini and Riccold to only one for Jordanus's *Mirabilia* and the missionaries' epistles. Odoric's book, although almost entirely forgotten by the reading public today, survives in 111 medieval manuscripts. That is only thirty to forty fewer than manuscripts of Marco Polo, undoubtedly the best-remembered of all the medieval travel writers.[53]

[47] Odoric, *Relatio*, 10.4–5; *Cathay*, II, 138–40.

[48] Odoric, *Relatio*, 12.1–2; *Cathay*, II, 147–48.

[49] Odoric, *Relatio*, 24.2; *Cathay*, II, 207–09.

[50] Odoric, *Relatio*, 20.2; *Cathay*, II, 179, translation modified slightly.

[51] Odoric, *Relatio*, 34.1–2; *Cathay*, II, 254–55.

[52] Odoric, *Relatio*, 35.1–4; *Cathay*, II, 257–60. The story is also found in works by several near-contemporaries, including Marco Polo and Sir John Mandeville.

[53] Scott D. Westrem, *Broader Horizons: A Study of Johannes Witte de Hese's 'Itinerarius' and Medieval Travel Narratives* (Cambridge, MA: Medieval Academy of America, 2001), p. 37 n. 93, and p. 229. On Marco Polo manuscripts see Marco Polo, *The Description of the World*, I, 509–16. Subsequent references to Marco's *Divisament* refer to this edition, by volume, chapter, and page number.

Marco was about seventeen when he accompanied his father and uncle to Mongolian-controlled China in the early 1270s, returning around 1295. The impetus for producing a book based on his experiences seems to have come from Rustichello da Pisa, a romance author, probably while they were both in a Genoese prison around 1296. There is little doubt now that Marco Polo did indeed go to China and spent several years in service to Kublai Khan, but that the work he produced with Rustichello — *Le Divisament dou monde* (The Description of the World) — contains extra literary embellishments.[54] The original manuscript is lost, no single version of the extant manuscripts provides the 'standard' text, and Rustichello's involvement combined with diversity among manuscripts mean that the texts lack a single narratorial voice; as a result, authorial motivation is impossible to ascertain. What one can say is that the lands of the Far East, particularly those under the control of the benevolent Kublai Khan, are rendered utopic and marvellous.[55] '*This*', the book seems to say, 'is how to live.' Some passages on Chinese women depict an alluring femininity. On the one hand are virtuous maidens, without peer as regards modesty. A fifteenth-century Latin version says that the girls of Cathay do not dance or leap about, nor hang out of windows looking at passers-by, that they walk demurely in the street with their eyes downcast and speak respectfully to their elders. Before marriage a maiden's virginity is tested by insertion of a dove's egg or by scratching of the 'virginal vein' by an older matron. Virgin's blood, it is said, cannot be washed out, and so can be distinguished from ordinary blood. To preserve their precious chastity Cathayan girls are taught to walk with very small steps — no longer than a finger's length — lest they tear their hymens. All this, it is said, applies to the natives of Cathay and Manzi, not Tartars, since the latter take their wives and daughters riding with them, 'so that it may be supposed that the virginity of the latter may suffer somewhat thereby'.[56] However, most *Divisament* manuscripts

[54] Larner's *Marco Polo and the Discovery of the World* provides English readers with probably the most learned yet accessible study of Marco and his book. On the collaboration with Rustichello see pp. 46–67. On the authenticity of Marco's journey see Igor de Rachewiltz, 'Marco Polo Went to China', *Zentralasiatische Studien*, 27 (1997), 34–92.

[55] As Larner points out, however, Marco's 'marvels' are not necessarily things of wonder to modern readers (for example, paper money and the Mongol postal system) nor would they have been to European observers from other parts of Europe (for example coal); *Marco Polo and the Discovery of the World*, pp. 77–83; see also Debra Higgs Strickland, 'Artists, Audience and Ambivalence in Marco Polo's *Divisament dou monde*', *Viator*, 36 (2005), 493–529. Monstrous races and exotic beasts are not emphasized in the *Divisament*.

[56] Marco Polo, *Description of the World*, I, chap. 134, 304–05.

also describe the hordes of prostitutes in the suburbs of Cambaluc (Beijing), while one version of the book says the prostitutes of Kinsai (Hangchow) are so expert in their arts that 'when foreigners have once tasted of them, they remain, so to speak, beside themselves, and are so taken by their sweetness and charm that they can never forget them'.[57] The women of Ergiuul in Central Asia are said to be very well made, and men choose their brides not for their nobility and wealth but their beauty because they were much driven by lust and sensuality.[58] A link between sensuality, emasculation and political decay is implied in the tale of King Facfur of Manzi, whose kingdom was conquered by the Mongols because of his lack of valiance. He, as one version of the story goes, spent all his days in the company innumerable fair damsels whom he liked to watch bathing naked in a lake, and gave little thought to the defence of his kingdom.[59] The connection of Far Eastern women with beauty, delicacy, and sexual desire is perhaps part of the wider sense of China as a place of luxury and refinement, cultural stereotypes already well established by the time of our travellers.

Chinese prostitutes and the ubiquity of brothels held an enduring fascination for travellers. The Persian merchant Abu Zeid al Hafan in the ninth or tenth century, author of one of the earliest available accounts of China from a non-Chinese perspective, wrote of the women who choose a 'dissolute life of perpetual debauchery'. 'In the evening these women walk abroad in dresses of different colours, without any veil, and prostitute themselves to all new comers that love debauchery.'[60] A similar remark is found in Poggio Bracciolini's telling of Nicolò de' Conti's travels (Nicolò was a Venetian merchant who travelled and traded in Far Eastern regions between 1419 and 1439): 'Public women are everywhere to be had, residing in particular houses of their own in all parts of the cities, who attract the men by sweet perfumes and ointments, by their blandishments, beauty, and youth; for the Indians [here southern Chinese] are much addicted to licentiousness.'[61] Gaspar de Cruz, a Dominican missionary to China in 1548,

[57] Marco Polo, *Description of the World*, I, chap. 95, 236; I, chap. 152, 328–29. The latter survives only in Ramusio's printed translation of 1559.

[58] Marco Polo, *Description of the World*, I, chap. 72, 180–81.

[59] Marco Polo, *Description of the World*, I, 338–39 n. 3.

[60] Abu Zeid al Hafan, 'An Account of the Travels of Two Mohammedans through India and China in the Ninth Century', trans. by Abbé Renaudot, in *A General Collection of the Best and Most Interesting Voyages and Travels in All Parts of the World*, ed. by John Pinkerton, 17 vols (London: Longman and others, 1808–14), VII, 201.

[61] An account of Conti's travels makes up the fourth book of Poggio Bracciolini, *De varietate fortunae: Edizione critica con introduzione e commento*, ed. by Outi Merisalo, Suomalainen

commented that the only women one ever saw in the streets were lower-class married women and prostitutes, and that all other women were kept strictly enclosed. His account of the prostitutes is more compassionate than Marco Polo's or Nicolò de' Conti's, saying the profession is reserved for the most unfortunate, including blind women who have attendants to paint their faces. Their plight is as harsh as that of blind men who are compelled to work in mills, pulling grindstones like horses. The common women are slaves to the profession, as daughters of poor widows who are sold into the service of a pimp brought up to the work from childhood. 'I spake particularly of this matter, for to come to say that in this country of China there is no greater servitude than of these wenches.'[62]

The *Divisament dou monde* relates a kind of yearning for a sensual Asia which, at first sight, chimes more with recent Orientalism than the mostly pragmatic narratives of ambassadors and missionaries. Nevertheless, the work should not be held up as an early manifestation of Orientalism. Its descriptions of sexual and sensual pleasure are relatively few in the context of this large work. Like all medieval travel narratives it does not depict an 'East' or 'Orient' as a singular, unified entity and its authors' and readers' motivations, though difficult to identify positively, were not imperialist. It is more likely that the *Divisament*'s descriptions of the realm of Kublai Khan, at least, were held up as inspiration for a more sophisticated, urbane and pleasurable way of living than was common in contemporary Western Europe.

Odoric's *Relatio* and Marco Polo's *Divisament* indicate a European reading taste for the exotic and paved the way for the best-selling author to contribute to the Eastern travelogue tradition in the Middle Ages, 'Sir John Mandeville'. One could call him a plagiarist, a prankster or a forger, but for centuries his *Book*

tiedeakatemian toimituksia, ser. B, 275 (Helsinki: Suomalainen tiedeakatemia, 1993), pp. 153–77 (p. 167); English translation in *Travelers in Disguise: Narratives of Eastern Travel by Poggio Bracciolini and Ludovico de Varthema*, trans. by John Winter Jones, revised with an introduction by Lincoln Davis Hammond (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1963), pp. 3–45 (p. 26). The work was quite widely disseminated: thirty-one manuscripts have been identified, and it was printed in Latin, Portuguese, Spanish, Italian, and English in the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. *Le Voyage aux Indes de Nicolò de Conti (1414–1439)*, trans. by Diane Ménard, ed. by Geneviève Bouchon and Anne-Laure Amilhat-Szary (Paris: Chandeigne, 2004), p. 41; Kennon Breazeale, 'Editorial Introduction to Nicolò de' Conti's Account', *SOAS Bulletin of Burma Research*, 2 (2004), 100–09.

[62] Gaspar de Cruz, *Treatise in which the things of China are related at great length*, in *South China in the Sixteenth Century, Being the Narratives of Galeote Pereira, Fr. Gaspar de Cruz, and Fr. Martin de Rada (1550–1575)*, ed. and trans. by C. R. Boxer, Hakluyt Society, ser. 2, 106 (London: Hakluyt Society, 1953), pp. 122, 149, 150–51.

(*c.* 1356) was regarded as true and 'Mandeville' as a daring adventurer.[63] The author was unquestionably well read in existing medieval travel and geographical literature and his work survives in around 250 manuscripts in all the major medieval European languages.[64] Oriental sensual excess is one of the author's themes. He mentions the polygamy practised by pagan Eastern peoples, such as the King of Calonach (aka Zampa, Chamba, or Tchampa, a kingdom in southern Indo-China) who had a thousand wives (along with three-hundred tame elephants), though he slept with each only once (the wives, not the elephants) and had many children as a result.[65] He repeats the story of the 'old man of the mountains' and Odoric's tale of a country where one may find a very rich lord living in a palace with beautiful gardens, with fifty damsels to serve him every day 'at his mete and bed and doþ what he wol'.[66] In contrast with pagan sexual surfeit stands the figure of Prester John, a model of Christian chastity, whose bed of gold and sapphires confounds lechery, and who sleeps with his wife but three times a year and only to beget children.[67] The *Mandeville*-author also steals Odoric's account of the men of Hormuz and their giant life-threatening testicles, and the gender-inversion of southern India where women shave their beards and men do not.[68] Bodily excess extends to monstrousness. In recounting the marvels of south-east Asian islands the author writes of the marvellous races to be found there, including hermaphrodites who have both male and female genitals and one breast each and are able to beget and bear children.[69]

The *Mandeville*-author's habit is to lift details from earlier works, then exaggerate or add to them, to enhance the overall impression of fundamental Eastern otherness — what Iain Macleod Higgins calls the 'deliberate overwriting' of his sources.[70] He takes Odoric's tale of the pygmies, for example, and lowers their age

[63] Campbell, *Witness and the Other World*, p. 126.

[64] M. C. Seymour, *Sir John Mandeville*, Authors of the Middle Ages, 1: English Writers of the Late Middle Ages (Aldershot: Variorum, 1993), pp. 37–56.

[65] *The Defective Version of Mandeville's Travels*, ed. by M. C. Seymour, Early English Text Society, o.s., 319 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), p. 84. Subsequent references are to this edition.

[66] Mandeville, *Defective Version*, pp. 118–20, 133–34.

[67] Mandeville, *Defective Version*, pp. 117–18.

[68] Mandeville, *Defective Version*, pp. 72, 75.

[69] Mandeville, *Defective Version*, p. 87.

[70] Iain Macleod Higgins, *Writing East: The 'Travels' of Sir John Mandeville* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1997), p. 9, also p. 12.

at marriage from five years to six months.[71] He is also prone to switching suddenly from ethnographic description to fantastical tales. In the land of Prester John, he writes, the local custom is for newly married men to hire other men to sleep with their wives on their own wedding nights. Why? Because for a man to take the maidenhead of a woman was to put himself in peril of death, for women had snakes inside their vaginas which stung the men, 'and so was many a man yslawe [slain]'.[72] These literal *femmes fatales* are a kind of monster. Isidore defined the monster on the basis of etymology as that which 'shows' or 'warns'.[73] The *Book* shows and warns readers about what is possible in humanity — from the life-threatening testicles of Hormuz to the venomous vaginas of the land of Prester John — yet the tone is more light than admonitory.

Because of the author's anonymity one can only speculate about his motivations, and indeed the same goes for his innumerable readers. Iain Macleod Higgins offers an attractively non-dogmatic reading of the author's intentions for his *Book*, which 'represents a new kind of work that attempts to entertain, instruct, persuade, chastise, challenge, and console its imagined audience. [...] The *Mandeville*-author [is] an entertainer, teacher, moralist, and geographer, as well as a trickster and an artist.' The *Book's* representation of otherness in the distant East offers 'a vicarious journey through a marvellous gallery that offers a shifting mix of pleasure, puzzlement, repulsion, instruction, and (historically-specific cultural) Self-criticism'.[74] Perhaps, in part, the *Book* resonated for readers as a conveyor of important truths and unconscious motifs. Certainly, it satisfied an existing appetite for the exotic which was not fed by the evenhanded and comparatively mundane accounts of diplomats and most missionaries. There are many answers to the question of why late medieval writers and readers possessed a desire for knowledge about the inhabitants of distant lands.[75] Some had pragmatic

[71] Mandeville, *Defective Version*, p. 91. Note that Jean le Long's French translation of Odoric (*c.* 1351) makes the same alteration: *L'Extrême Orient au moyen-âge*, ed. by Louis de Backer (Paris: Leroux, 1877), p. 118. Both Michael Seymour and John Larner make persuasive cases for identifying Jean le Long with the *Mandeville*-author: Seymour, *Sir John Mandeville*, p. 23; Larner, *Marco Polo and the Discovery of the World*, pp. 130–31.

[72] Mandeville, *Defective Version*, pp. 123–24.

[73] Isidore of Seville, *The Etymologies of Isidore of Seville*, ed. and trans. by Stephen A. Barney and others (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), XI, p. 3.

[74] Higgins, *Writing*, pp. 13, 149. See also Geraldine Heng, *Empire of Magic: Medieval Romance and the Politics of Cultural Fantasy* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2003), pp. 239–305.

[75] I am currently exploring these matters further in a book-length study, provisionally titled *Before Orientalism*.

motivations (strategic, military, mercantile), others spiritual (particularly evangelical), or moral (the quest for improvement of the self and society), while some sought escapist entertainment and others admired models of advanced and luxurious living. The representation of an 'other' to aid in the shaping of a European self was a possible spur for some. *The Book of Sir John Mandeville*, even more than Marco Polo's *Divisament* or Odoric's *Relatio*, connects with the last of these (although it also does all the other things that Higgins suggests). It speaks powerfully to the desire to delineate 'us' versus 'them'. The 'us' or 'we' in this case is nearby, recognisably human in body, restrained and moderate in sexual habits, cool in temperament and complexion. 'They' are very far distant, and strange in body and sexual norms. One possible reading of 'Mandeville's' *Book* is that it helped reassure medieval readers of their own normality and made their fears more manageable through their displacement to the distant East — which is not to say it does no more than this.

Before moving to a conclusion some mention should be made of actual sexual contact between European travellers and Asian peoples, yet very little such contact is recorded. The Orient was not yet widely looked upon as 'a place where one could look for sexual experience unobtainable in Europe'.[76] This is partly accounted for by the fact that most of the extant medieval sources were composed by Franciscan or Dominican friars, who would be unlikely to record any sexual encounters even if they experienced them. Yet the travelling laymen do not tell us a great deal about their sexual or domestic habits either. Marco Polo spent his young adulthood in the Far East and it is difficult to imagine that he spent those years celibate. Some of the stories he tells are slightly salacious and seem to suggest personal experience. These have their echo in the anecdote recounted by William Dalrymple cited at the beginning of this essay. Most manuscripts of the *Divisament* say of the people of Kamul on the edge of the Gobi desert that they would offer their wives, daughters, sisters, and other female relatives to visitors as part of their hospitality: 'the women are fair, gay and wanton.'[77] A similar passage on Tibet offers more detail. No man there wanted to have a virgin for a wife but preferred partners with extensive sexual experience. Upon the arrival of strangers the old women of the towns would bring their daughters to their tents in groups of twenty to forty and offer the girls to the men to do as they will with them. Afterwards the man must give the girl a token to hang around her neck to show

[76] Said, *Orientalism*, p. 190.

[77] Marco Polo, *Description of the World*, I, chap. 59, 154–56.

how many lovers she has had. The more tokens, the more eligible the girl. That is a country into which 'young gentlemen from sixteen years to 24 will do well to go'.[78] There is no certainty that Marco went to Tibet, however, and no guarantee at all that he bears authorial responsibility for this passage. Francesco Balducci Pegolotti, a Florentine who wrote a manual of general advice for merchants *c.* 1340 and included some detail on travel on the road to Cathay, advises that 'if the merchant likes to take a woman with him from Tana, he can do so; if he does take one he will be kept much more comfortably than if he does not take one'.[79] He refrains from describing the nature of these 'comforts'. One would think that some sexual contact would have taken place between European men and Asian women given that large numbers of merchants made the journey east and some spent several years in trading stations abroad, yet testimony is sparse.[80]

The best direct evidence for sexual contact comes from the narrative of Nicolò de' Conti, who told Pero Tafur that he had met and married a woman in 'India' and had three children with her on his voyages, but that they died of plague in Egypt on his return trip.[81] Nicolò also provides one of the most explicit descriptions of sexual habits found in any of these narratives, recounting how the men near Ava in Burma had the skin of their penises cut and several small bells inserted between glans and prepuce to make their members larger and give their wives greater sexual satisfaction:

> The members of some men stretch down between their legs so that when they walk they ring out and may be heard. Nicolò was mocked by the women because of his small penis and invited to do the same, but was not willing to give others pleasure through his pain.[82]

The travel narratives lack any anxiety about cross-cultural or cross-religious miscegenation, such as was so feared and reviled between Christians and Jews and Muslims.[83]

[78] Marco Polo, *Description of the World*, I, chap. 115, 269–71.

[79] Francesco Balducci Pegolotti, *La Practica della mercatura*, ed. by Allan Evans (Cambridge, MA: Medieval Academy of America, 1936; repr. 1970), pp. 151–52.

[80] Robert Sabatino Lopez, 'European Merchants in the Medieval Indies: The Evidence of Commercial Documents', *Journal of Economic History*, 3 (1942), 164–84; J. R. S. Phillips, *The Medieval Expansion of Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), pp. 102–21.

[81] Pero Tafur, *Travels and Adventures, 1435–1439*, ed. and trans. by Malcolm Letts (London: Routledge, 1926), pp. 84–85.

[82] Bracciolini, *De varietate fortunae*, bk IV, pp. 158–59, my translation.

[83] Steven F. Kruger, 'Conversion and Medieval Sexual, Religious, and Racial Categories', in *Constructing Medieval Sexuality*, ed. by Karma Lochrie and others (Minneapolis: University of

In the later medieval period Far Eastern regions had not yet been merged into one. Europe did not yet have a 'collective day dream of the Orient' nor a tendency to erotic homogenization, because it was not capable even of conceiving of a colonial enterprise in the Far East.[84] Studies which argue for a timelessness in Western perceptions of an erotic Asia are therefore mistaken. It is hard to agree with Ian Buruma:

> Neither puritanism nor sensuality was ever unique to East or West, yet, on the whole, it is for the latter that Westerners have looked East. There has been a sensual, even erotic, element in encounters — imaginary or real — between East and West since the ancient Greeks. The European idea of the Orient as female, voluptuous, decadent, amoral — in short, as dangerously seductive — long predates the European empires in India and South-East Asia.[85]

William Dalrymple's tale of West-meets-East sexual cultures also seeks to collapse time, although his purposes are comedic. The time-lapse technique is presumably meant to add authority to modern views but it overlooks the particularity of historical perspectives. When medieval travellers portrayed the sexual elements of Far Eastern cultures they were not motivated by a desire to feminize oriental lands and thus justify their domination. Subjugation of central, south, east, or south-east Asia was not on any European's mind. Latin Christians already possessed usable 'other'-figures in Saracens and Jews, both of whom Europeans were happy to caricature in feminized and sexualized forms. The pagan peoples of the Far East were viewed through more diverse lenses.

Minnesota Press, 1997), pp. 158–79; Benjamin Liu, '"Affined to Love the Moor": Sexual Misalliance and Cultural Mixing in the *Cantigas d'escarnho e de mal dizer*', in *Queer Iberia: Sexualities, Cultures, and Crossings from the Middle Ages to the Renaissance*, ed. by Josiah Blackmore and Gregory S. Hutcheson (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1999), pp. 48–72.

[84] V. J. Kiernan, *The Lords of Human Kind: Black Man, Yellow Man and White Man in an Age of Empire* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1969), p. 131, quoted in Said, *Orientalism*, p. 52.

[85] Buruma, *Missionary and the Libertine*, p. xiv. A similarly 'timeless' view is provided by Sheridan Prasso, who unfairly cites Said as her authority: 'Western travelers to the "Orient" began selling these stereotypes and misperceptions back home centuries ago, as Edward Said famously wrote in his book *Orientalism*, published in 1978. Since the time of Marco Polo, and even as far back as the ancient Greeks who gave Western culture the sexual goddess Aphrodite as the first model of the "Oriental woman," he wrote, Western writers have painted Asia as inscrutable, romantic, decadent, dangerous, promising, and mysterious' (*Asian Mystique*, p. 9). Prasso fails to cite a reference for her supposed 'quotation' (or part quotation) from Said, no doubt because he says no such thing. His account of Orientalism as 'a Western style for dominating, restructuring and having authority over the Orient' begins in the late eighteenth century (*Orientalism*, p. 3).

The accounts here examined reveal a lack of conformity among medieval travel writers. Ambassadorial travellers on the whole did not *excessively* condemn or demonize Asian peoples, which is not to say that their accounts were therefore free of criticism. This, I suggest, is because diplomacy and the gathering of information for military and strategic purposes (as opposed to warfare propaganda) benefits little from exaggeration of either positive or negative qualities. Carpini's, Rubruck's and most other political envoys' views on Mongol sexualities were thus relatively neutral, seeking neither vices to condemn nor alluring qualities to praise.[86] Most missionary narratives refrain from any mention of sexual habits, perhaps because their authors wished to paint a positive picture of the future for Christian evangelism in Asia and of their own achievements. This necessitated a view of Asian peoples as 'potential Christians' — the missionaries' human equals — and therefore not as radically 'other' in sexuality or other respects. It is only in the narratives produced in part or wholly by authors who had not themselves undertaken journeys and which were subsequently altered and elaborated by copyists and translators that a fascination for Eastern sexual otherness is found: Odoric's *Relatio*, Marco Polo's *Divisament*, *The Book of Sir John Mandeville*, and Poggio's recounting of Nicolò de' Conti's travels. It is as though these collaborators or associate-authors (for want of a better term), free from any personal connection with the East or immediate political or evangelical motivation for producing usable knowledge, were better placed to pen narratives which resonated with established European tropes of Eastern exoticism and thus spoke to the expectations of the reading public. The presentation of sexual cultures of other peoples was but one strand in the fabrication of the exoticized East. The rates of manuscript survival for this last group of travel narratives are testament to the collaborators' sense of popular need. Thus, while this essay has stressed the need to take account of authorial motivation in the production of travel narratives, I conclude by stressing the importance of scribes, copyists and translators and, most of all, contemporary audiences. European readers, through their consumption of these books, expressed a hunger for the other: a hunger based not in the desire for dominance or superiority but in wonder and curiosity — often admiring — for worlds so different from their own.[87]

[86] As noted above, Simon de Saint-Quentin's account differs somewhat from the others in this category, probably as a result of his personally negative experiences.

[87] Thank you to John for help and advice.

Fashioning New Worlds from Old Words: Roger Barlow's *A Brief Summe of Geographie*, *c.* 1541

Heather Dalton

When Sebastian Cabot sailed from Seville in 1526 in search of a westerly sea route to the East, an English merchant named Roger Barlow was on board one of his four ships. Fifteen years later, Barlow presented Henry VIII with a cosmography and a proposal seeking support to found a solely English trade route via the 'pole artike' to the Moluccas.[1] Barlow was fluent in Castilian and his cosmography is essentially an English translation of the first edition of the Spanish *Suma de geographia q trata de todas las partida & provincias del mundo: en especial delas Indias* by Martin Fernández de Enciso, published in Seville in 1519.[2] His proposal was a reworking of an address to the King that he and his business partner, the Bristol merchant Robert Thorne, had drafted in Seville between November 1528 and mid-1530.[3] In the cosmography, which is

[1] Roger Barlow, Manuscript beginning: 'A BRIEF SOMME of Geographia', 1535–43, London, British Library, MS Royal 18 B. xxviii. This proposal to find a passage through the 'pole artike' was part of a campaign to discover the Northwest Passage that was to gain momentum in the second half of the sixteenth century.

[2] Martin Fernández de Enciso, *Suma de geographia q trata de todas las partida & provincias del mundo: en especial delas Indias* (Seville: Jacob Cromburger, 1519). Barlow also presented Henry with a map, based on one Robert Thorne made in Seville. Thorne's map, in turn, is likely to have been based on Enciso's *Mappa mundi*, which has not survived. The term *cosmography* is employed in its widest sense here to denote the study of the visible universe: a description of the heavens and the earth, which includes both astronomy and geography.

[3] Roger Barlow, 'Address to the King', British National Archives, Letters & Papers Henry VIII, 1533–36, SP 1/239, fols 106$^{r–v}$, 107$^{r–v}$, and 108^{r}; E. G. R. Taylor, 'Roger Barlow: A New Chapter

the focus of this chapter, Barlow modified Enciso's navigational charts, cut out sections that had little relevance outside Spain, and added descriptive passages. One of these passages was based on his visit to the region of the Rio de la Plata, or River Plate, in 1526, as a member of Sebastian Cabot's expedition.[4]

Roger Barlow was born between 1480 and 1496 into a landowning family with estates in Essex and Hertfordshire and mercantile links to London.[5] He lived and traded in Seville during the second decade of the sixteenth century as a member of the small but thriving community of English merchants who flourished there. Records in the libraries of London's trading guilds and Sevillian archives indicate that Barlow and Thorne traded beyond the confines of the Spanish and Levant trade, out into the Atlantic to the Canaries, Azores, and the West Indies.[6] After returning from Cabot's voyage, Barlow married Julian Dawes, the daughter of a Bristol merchant, and spent the last twenty years of his life building up a large estate at Slebech in Pembrokeshire.[7] It was there, in Wales, that he put the finishing touches to his translation of Enciso's *Suma*. Although the exact date he presented this to the Crown cannot be established, his reference on folio 51 to the

in Early Tudor Geography', *Geographical Journal*, 74 (1929), 166–70 (p. 167). Although the proposal is calendared under 1534, a reference to the cosmography in the text and the watermark suggests its origin is *c*. 1540. I have a paper in preparation examining the circumstances surrounding the composition of the proposal in Seville and how it was eventually published by Hakluyt: "'A greate advantage of riches': Robert Thorne, Roger Barlow and Hakluyt's quest'.

[4] Barlow travelled up the River Plate, bordering Argentina, Uruguay, and Brazil, and up the Paraná at least as far as Asuncion on the Paraguay.

[5] Barlow would have been at least twenty-one when importing goods into Bristol in 1517 from the port of San Lucar de Barrameda in Andalusia. As he was still a vigorous member of the community in the early 1550s and his eldest son, John, did not come of age until 1554, it is unlikely that he was born before 1480. King's Remembrances Customs Accounts, Controller's Account, 1516/17, E122/ 21/2, fol. 15v°2 (nos 3309, 3310), UK National Archives. Accounts transcribed for 'Ireland-Bristol Trade in the Sixteenth Century', an ongoing project of the Department of Historical Studies, University of Bristol; Heather Dalton, 'Negotiating Fortune: English Merchants in Early Sixteenth-Century Seville', in *Bridging Early Modern Atlantic Worlds: People, Products and Practices on the Move*, ed. by Caroline Williams (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2009), 57–73, and 'Roger Barlow: Tudor Trade and the Atlantic World' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Melbourne, 2008).

[6] In particular the Archivo de Protocolos de Sevilla (Calle A. Apodaca, Centro, Seville) and The Worshipful Company of Drapers (The Drapers' Hall, Throgmorton Avenue, London, EC2N 2DQ).

[7] Barlow took advantage of the Crown's release of estates in Pembrokeshire in the wake of the dissolution of the monasteries to buy and enlarge the dissolved commandery of the Hospitallers of St John of Jerusalem at Slebech.

capture of Tunis by Charles V (which took place in the summer of 1535) as occurring five to six years earlier suggests that he put the finishing touches to it in the winter of 1540–41.[8]

The motivation behind Barlow's approach to Henry VIII in 1541 was to gain Crown funding to establish an English route to the lucrative Spice Islands, the Moluccas, via the Northwest Passage. Barlow's proposal was a stand-alone document that neatly encapsulated this aim, yet he considered it advantageous to present a cosmography as well. Since Sir Thomas Elyot's educational treatise *The Governour* had been published in 1531, knowledge of geography had increasingly been regarded as necessary to a gentleman's learning. By situating his firsthand account of the River Plate within a cosmography, Barlow was able to demonstrate that he was not merely a merchant but a man of learning with firsthand experience of the New World.[9] Barlow had put a lot of effort into the navigational accuracy of his work and he was keen that it should be published — a request he put to the King:

> I have set fourthe a brief somme of geographia wch dothe treat of all partes and provinces of the worlde, and spetially of countries latelie discovered by your majestie and by themperour Charles of that name the Vth and of the kynges of portugall and spayne, wch I humblie present unto your maiestie for that your grace maye commande it to be corrected and amended and to geve your auctorite to be put fourthe in prynte, for that it may be agradable to the readers and also profitable to suche as intende to have knowledge of the navigation to discover straunge contries, for to know the provinces and placys of the worlde and what is in every one of them and where they lie.[10]

Roger Barlow's cosmography contains the first firsthand account of the New World in English. It was a groundbreaking work in 1541, yet the cosmography was not printed until 1932 when the Hakluyt Society published it as *A Brief Summe of Geographie*.[11]

[8] Roger Barlow, *A Brief Summe of Geographie*, ed. by E. G. R. Taylor (London: Hakluyt Society, 1932), p. 96. Subsequent references to Barlow's work are to this edition rather than to the manuscript (references to Taylor's preface to the edition will be indicated as such). Barlow wrote that 'within this 20 yere there came a turk, a banished man called barbaroze and toke this citie and kept it'. The crucial line to dating the manuscript is 'till now within this v or vi yere themperour Charles king of spayne made a grete armye and he him selfe went in persone and after grete assawte made to the citie toke hit'.

[9] Jonathan M. Smith, 'State Formation, Geography and a Gentleman's Education', *Geographical Review*, 86 (1996), 91–100 (p. 94).

[10] Barlow, *Brief Summe*, pp. 1–2.

[11] Although America had been mentioned in previous works in English, this is the first account in the English language by somebody who had actually been to America and, had it been

Had Henry VIII supported the publication of Barlow's work, it would have advantaged Britain's mariners and may have changed the course of English writing on the New World. It is unclear whether Barlow simply got his timing wrong (for it seems there was nobody at court in the early 1540s to promote such publishing and the King was frail and his attention was taken up with war against France) or whether he simply tried to do too much and subsequently buried the navigational handbook and his personal account of the New World too deeply in his cosmography to attract attention. What is clear is that when Jean Rotz presented Henry with his 'Book of Hydrography' in 1542, his manuscript was not published either. This was despite the fact that Rotz had written it in the King's favourite language, French, and included a plea that it should be published.[12]

Eva Germaine Rimington Taylor, who edited and introduced Barlow's text, considered it curious that 'the earliest account in English of the New World should have been unregarded for nearly four centuries'. She did not think 'the fact that it was largely a translation from a work published in Spanish a sufficient explanation'. The text continues to remain largely 'unregarded'. A line from Eva Taylor's introduction suggests why this may have happened, for she saw the major value of the text 'as material for the reconstruction of the past, that is to say, for true historical geography'. She added, almost as a second thought, that 'historians, too, will find that it is not without interest as filling a gap in the story of English maritime expansion'.[13] Her assessment highlights the fact that, as a cosmography, *A Brief Summe of Geographie* does not provide a clear-cut story for those seeking to make a link between John Cabot's 'discovery' of Newfoundland in 1497 and the founding of Virginia.

This chapter examines Roger Barlow's *Brief Summe* from the point of view that it involves two encounters: firstly, the author's encounter with the Spanish text and, secondly, his encounter with the New World. As Barlow's primary aim was to persuade the Crown to fund exploratory voyages to find the Northwest

published, it would have been the first account in print. The earliest work in English mentioning America is thought to be *Of the newe landes and of ye people founde by the messengers of the kynge of portyngale named Emanuel*, adapted from an anonymous work and printed by Jan van Doesborch in Antwerp in 1511, and reproduced in *The First Three English Books on America*, ed. by Edward Arber (Westminster: Archibald Constable, 1895), pp. xxiii–xxxvi.

[12] Susan Brigden, *New Worlds, Lost Worlds: The Rule of the Tudors, 1485–1603* (New York: Viking, 2001), pp. 136–37; Barlow, *Brief Summe*, pp. 184–86; *The Maps and Text of the Boke of Idrography Presented by Jean Rotz to Henry VIII: Now in the British Library*, ed. by Helen Wallis (Oxford: Roxburghe Club, 1981).

[13] Taylor, *Brief Summe*, 'Preface', p. vii.

Passage, I examine why Barlow considered it advantageous to present a cosmography based on Enciso's text, when his proposal alone summed up this aim. I then explore how Barlow adapted Enciso's text to fit his intentions and what his changes, deletions, and additions reveal about the process of using old words to describe recently discovered regions. In particular, I look at how Barlow built on Enciso's revelations of the New World to frame the cannibalistic rituals of the Tupi Indians he encountered in the River Plate region.

Choosing Enciso's Text

Enciso is considered to have been the first conquistador to write with educational ends in mind. His *Suma* was considered authoritative because he embodied those attributes that gave credence to a text of this nature. At a time when knowing the New World was totally dependent on reports, it was crucial that the authors of such reports were reliable. In Spain during this period, credibility was based on a combination of four main factors: proximity and experience as well as education and rank. Enciso fulfilled all four. He had made two trips to the Caribbean and was considered a conquistador, albeit an unusual one as he was a lawyer who had gained the title of *el bachiller* at university. As Anthony de Fogeda's lieutenant in Darien, Enciso had ended up leading the colony. This brought him into conflict with Vasco Nuñez de Balboa and in 1511, when he returned to Spain to build his case against his enemy, Enciso sailed to Española via Cuba. This added to his already considerable knowledge of the West Indies and meant that, once he returned to Seville, he was a key player in the intellectual circles of the city.[14]

Using and adapting tried and true texts was an acceptable practice in the sixteenth century and Martin Fernández de Enciso's *Suma de geographia q trata de todas las partida & provincias del mundo: en especial delas Indias* was certainly tried and true. It was published in Seville in 1519 and reprinted in 1530 and 1549. Other descriptions of the New World were published in Europe while Barlow was

[14] Taylor, *Brief Summe*, 'Preface', pp. xii–xiii. Enciso noted in his *Suma* that Peter Martyr (Pietro Martire d'Anghiera) had consulted him when they both stayed at the Spanish court and Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo y Valdés, who spent 1519–20 in Seville, described Enciso as 'my friend'. See Antonello Gerbi, *Nature in the New World: From Christopher Columbus to Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo*, trans. by Jeremy Moyne (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1985), pp. 77 and 88–89; and Ursula Lamb, 'Argos and Polyphemus: Eyes on the New World Five Hundred Years Ago and Now', in *Cosmographers and Pilots of the Spanish Maritime Empire* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1995), sec. XIV, pp. 4–5.

in Seville, but Enciso's *Suma* was available to the merchants and navigators who lived in the Andalusian port.[15] The *Suma* was not simply a personal record of exploration, but an authoritative, accessible, and useful text. Enciso had set out to do three things: to promote his own status by demonstrating his experience in the New World, as well as his knowledge of the world as a whole; to persuade Charles V to invest in establishing a Spanish trade route to the Spice Islands; and to provide a guidebook for those involved in seafaring and discovery. Enciso's book continued to be popular long after Spain had conceded to Portugal all rights to the Spice Islands due to the fact that Enciso had effectively merged an inventory of everything considered currently and potentially to belong to the Spanish Crown with a navigational handbook — and he had done it in the vernacular. Enciso had taken a bold step when he sat down to draft his *Suma* in Castilian, for all accounts of the Americas had previously been published in Latin and Charles V, to whom Enciso dedicated his manuscript, was not a native speaker of Castilian. However, Enciso's innovation paid off and his ground-breaking book became 'a traveling companion for those sailing in the Indies' for at least a generation.[16] The fact that the Spaniard's innovation paid off is likely to have given Barlow the confidence to write his cosmography in the vernacular and present Henry VIII with an English rather than a Latin cosmography. As a literate conquistador and an innovative traditionalist, Enciso had produced a *Suma* Barlow considered worthy of imitation and, even more importantly, one that could provide a platform for his own experiences and his ideas for developing an English trade route.

Enciso had set out to blend the languages of quantitative cosmography and descriptive geography and, adhering to the overriding discipline underpinning Ptolemy's *Geography*, attempted to pinpoint the position of each locale he described on the globe.[17] He had followed the structure of a ruttier chart and so his descriptions were generally limited to coasts, harbours, and navigable river systems. Although this meant that Enciso's cosmography was sketchy when it

[15] For information on early accounts, including Enciso's, see Gerbi, *Nature in the New World*; Boies Penrose, *Travel and Discovery in the Renaissance, 1420–1620* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1952); and John Parker, *Books to Build an Empire: A Bibliographical History of Overseas Interests to 1620* (Amsterdam: N. Israel, 1965).

[16] Gerbi, *Nature in the New World*, pp. 79 and 88.

[17] Ricardo Padrón, *The Spacious Word: Cartography, Literature and Empire in Early Modern Spain* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004), p. 85; Penrose, *Travel and Discovery in the Renaissance*, p. 9. In the early years of the fifteenth century the rediscovery of Ptolemy's *Geography* and the grid system used by Greeks and Romans changed the way the world was represented.

came to describing inland regions, this was to be expected in regard to the New World. America was still in the process of being revealed to Europeans from the piecemeal evidence of coastlines and its position in the European imagination was hazy at best. Roger Barlow would have certainly admired the way Enciso presented this practical information, yet, what he would have considered unique, and therefore admired all the more, was the way Enciso embedded the New World within a description of the known world. Knowledge of the classical world, as well as more recent history, was essential to the man of letters and Enciso demonstrated a familiarity with a myriad of sources. He acknowledged that his work came 'from the wisdom of the Bactrian History, the two Ptolemies, Eratosthenes, Pliny, Strabo, Josephus, Anselm, the Bible, the General History, and many other writings, and from our own daily experience which is the mother of everything'.[18] For example, when writing about Syria and Persia, Enciso included details from Marco Polo, including a story of how the Caliph converted to Christianity after his Christian subjects were able to move a hill by prayer. When explaining that there were two Ethiopias, 'the one is oriental the other occidentall', Enciso referred to a tradition established in medieval bestiaries to provide a story for the eastern half: 'thei saie that ther be carbuncules, also a best called lynce whiche is very quycke of sight and of his uryne congeleth a stone of colour like fyre which is called lyncuris and is like the carbuncle and much estemyd'.[19] By combining information from these traditional sources with his own descriptions, and then placing these locales on a textual rendition of the globe, Enciso had essentially melded two traditions which had been separate until the end of the fifteenth century — mathematical geography and descriptive geography.[20]

Adapting Enciso's Text

Enciso presented the world in four sections, reflecting his adherence to cartography. Lines, partitions, and sections mattered more than topography to the conquistador and his manipulation of these to justify and further Castile's

[18] The last page of the 1519 edition of Enciso's *Suma*: 'Conuiene a saber dela historia batriana, los dos Ptolomeos, Erastotenes, Plinio, Strabon, Josepho, Enselmo, La biblia, La General historia, y otros muchos, y la experiécia de de nustros tiempos q es madre de todas las colas'.

[19] Barlow (Enciso), *Brief Summe*, pp. 94, 117.

[20] Lesley B. Cormack, 'Good Fences Make Good Neighbours: Geography as Self-Definition in Early Modern England', *Isis*, 82 (1991), 639–61 (p. 641).

empire-building foreshadowed Barlow's desire to encompass the world and demonstrate that he was able to measure and describe it.[21] Barlow kept to the structure of Enciso's *Suma* and his dedication or 'Address to the King' was followed by a modified version of Enciso's navigational manual entitled a 'lytle declaration of the spere' and then the descriptive geography. The major structural adjustment Barlow made to Enciso's descriptive geography is that he did not conclude his description of the world with a description of Labrador. He used it as a natural point from which to launch his appeal to Henry to fund voyages to seek out a trade route to the Spice Islands via the Northwest Passage.

The modifications that Barlow made to Enciso's navigational manual and the positioning of locales in his descriptive geography are testament to his mathematic skills and desire to be as accurate as possible. However, Barlow's translation and adaptation of Enciso's 'Address to the King' and the descriptive geography, particularly that relating to the New World, are harder to interpret. This chapter focuses on these sections, highlighting points where Barlow's literary struggle, between following Enciso and producing a text that fitted his needs, is most apparent.

Barlow revised the proposal he had initially composed with his colleague Thorne and used the first part as the opening dedication and the second part as his appeal to Henry, thus effectively wrapping his cosmography in his proposal. This meant that Barlow effectively delivered his proposal to Henry VIII twice: as a stand-alone document and incorporated within his *Brief Summe*. His dedication began by proclaiming Henry's position as the earthly 'supreme heed under chryste of the Churche of ynglonde' and assuring the King of his loyalty with the words: 'his humble subjecte Roger Barlo desireth all felicitie and long lyfe'.[22] He had to make several adaptations to the dedication because, while Enciso was able to overcome the sensitive task of addressing his monarch's lack of knowledge of the world by alluding to Charles V's youth and lack of experience, Barlow could not realistically do the same.[23] Enciso had also depicted the space between the West and East Indies as being a vast expanse and one that Charles must inves-

[21] Taylor, *Brief Summe*, 'Preface', pp. xvi–xvii. One of the illustrations in the first edition of Enciso's work shows signs that the wood block was altered in order to ensure that the Castilian claim to the Spice Islands was clear. In the 1530 edition, this alteration does not appear as Charles V had already surrendered his claim to the Moluccas.

[22] Barlow, *Brief Summe*, p. 1.

[23] Gerbi, *Nature in the New World,* p. 78. Enciso pointed out that as Charles had not yet had the chance to read 'the books that speak of Geography' his book would provide a comprehensive description.

tigate. He extolled the riches in those parts of Asia he assigned to Charles (such as Java, Cipangu, Ophir, and the Spice Islands) and goaded his monarch with the words:

> And so all of the one thousand six hundred fifty leagues of the universe that are yet to be discovered fall within the part belonging to your highness, and so your highness [...] should command the discovery of all that is left of your part, for the king of Portugal, although he is younger than you, has discovered so much.[24]

Barlow left out these lines and others in which Enciso chided Charles by pointing out that Alexander the Great had already set out as a conqueror by his age and that Charles should 'conquer and take those provinces and lands that are possessed by those people who are not Christians'.[25] These omissions are important because they highlight the fact that Barlow, unlike Enciso, was no conquistador, and that motifs such as the reference to Alexander would not have nearly the same resonance for his monarch as they had for Charles V.[26] While Enciso was writing for an emperor and readers who had established a rhetoric and method for conquering 'lands that are possessed by those people who are not Christians', Barlow was writing for a king whose mind was on other things and whose people had barely grasped the idea of a New World, let alone conquering it. Barlow made no attempt to come up with an alternative to Enciso's call, because his aim was to persuade Henry to bypass the Americas in order to reach the Spice Islands. It suited Barlow to skip to these sections and use those parts of Enciso's address to Charles that he could adapt to appeal to Henry's ambition, learning, and 'noble heart'. However, even when Barlow followed Enciso's text, he did not always translate it word-for-word. For example, in the following excerpt, Barlow simply referred to Enciso's 'things of the whole world' or 'things of the universe called earth' (delas cosas del universo llamado mundo) as 'strange countries' and added to Enciso's concept of unfamiliar aspects of the earth, by extrapolating this to include 'there comoditees, behaviour and customes':

[24] Enciso's dedication to Charles V is transcribed in Martin Fernández de Enciso, *Descriptión de las Indias Occidentales: Excerpt from 'Suma de Geographia'*, ed. by Jose Toribio Medina (Santiago de Chile: Elzeviriana, 1897), pp. 13–14; translation from Padrón, *Spacious Word*, p. 86.

[25] Padrón, *Spacious Word*, p. 85.

[26] Alexander the Great had been, to all intents and purposes, grafted on to Charlemagne's family tree and, in turn, to the Hapsburgs'. This was part of the wider genealogical construction linking Charles V to earlier Holy Roman Emperors and ultimately to classical figures. See Marie Tanner, *The Last Descendant of Aeneas: The Hapsburgs and the Mythic Image of the Emperor* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993), pp. 2 and 72.

> Una delas cosas más agradable a los varones
> de nobles corazones y progenies es oyr leer o hablar
> delas cosas del universo llamado mundo: enespecial
> de aq'llas de que no tienen ni alcanzan noticia,
> por ser muy apartadas de donde ellos estan.[27]
>
> (One of the thinges most naturally desired
> of noble hartes is to heere reade or common
> of straunge contries, and espetiallie of
> contreis that we have had no knowlelege
> of being farre aparted from us, and of there
> comoditees, behaviour and customes wch
> are very straunge to owres.)[28]

Barlow explained that, 'as one most desirous to ocupie him self in some service that might be acceptable unto your royall maiestie', he had 'set fourthe a briefe somme of geographia wch dothe treat of allpartes and provinces of the worlde, and spetially of countries latelie discovered by your maiestie and by themperour Charles of that name the Vth and of the kynges of portugall and spayne'. Although Barlow alluded to 'discoveries' in his dedication, he did not suggest that Henry should acquire lands but that his priority should be knowledge. He did not refer to Spain's empire-building activities in a negative sense nor attempt to polarize England and Spain. The crux of his presentation to Henry was that, although he believed the focus of English exploration should be to the north, he considered it essential that the English know about the Spanish and Portuguese discoveries. Rather than making an explicit connection between conquest and wealth, Barlow made a connection between knowledge and wealth. This motif underpins the conclusion of the *Brief Summe*, where Barlow recommends that knowledge regarding the Northwest Passage, accumulated through generations of trade and voyaging, should be acted upon to establish a lucrative trading route. Barlow introduced his descriptive geography with a statement of intent: 'Therefore nowe I entende as nye as god wyl geve me grace to set furth the costes of the landes with ther derotas and altitudes, shewyng every place how many degrees it stondyth in and also every province what people, laye or secte thei be of and of ther commodities.'[29] He followed Enciso's text regarding most regions, making

[27] Enciso, *Suma*, p. 2.

[28] Barlow (Enciso), *Brief Summe*, p. 1.

[29] Barlow, *Brief Summe*, p. 32.

minor alterations and interpolations. When it came to the New World, Enciso was familiar with the route to Brazil from the Canaries and on to the port of Cartagena in modern-day Colombia, and so Barlow added little to his descriptions of these islands and coastlines.[30] However, the tensions inherent in adapting Enciso's dedication to Charles V for Henry VIII did not abate once Barlow began describing the New World and other regions unfamiliar to Europeans, such as Africa or India. The adaptations, deletions, and additions he made to Enciso's text relate to three main areas: religion and empire-building; flora and fauna; and description of peoples' 'behaviour and customes wch are very straunge to owres'.[31]

Religion and Empire-Building

During the period Roger Barlow was putting the finishing touches to the *Brief Summe*, he was living in Pembrokeshire and was embroiled in his brother's attempts to further the Protestant cause there. William Barlow had been made Bishop of St David's in 1536 and has been described as 'the first whole-hearted Protestant to reach a position of authority in the Welsh Church'.[32] It is impossible to gauge the level of Roger Barlow's personal commitment to religious change, especially as accusations of recusancy were made against his wife and eldest son after his death. Yet, he would certainly not have wanted to offend Henry as 'supreme heed under chryste of the Churche of ynglonde' by promoting either the Church of Rome or Catholic Spain.[33] As Enciso had been in the New World as a conquistador, he emphasized his active promotion of both Charles V and his God in his *Suma*. It would not have advantaged Barlow to have promoted Spain's cause nor to have attacked it for, although England's relationship with Spain was difficult during this period, the two countries were by no means enemies. His solution was simply to adjust Enciso's religious references and to leave out his declarations of conquest.

[30] Taylor, 'New Chapter', p. 169. Barlow added his own commentary on the trade winds that had held up Cabot's ships and pinpointed where the North Star slipped from view and navigators should start using the South Star, or Southern Cross.

[31] Barlow, *Brief Summe*, p. 1.

[32] Glanmor Williams, 'The Protestant Experiment in the Diocese of St David's, 1534–53', *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies*, 15 (1953), pt II, 212–24 (pp. 212–19).

[33] Williams, 'The Protestant Experiment', pp. 212–19.

Barlow omitted passages from Enciso's text that referred to successful conversions to the Catholic faith, including, for example, a long passage about how the Portuguese were converting the people of the Congo. In the section he authored, describing the River Plate, Barlow did refer to the possibility of converting one community of Tupis who were 'idolatras for some beleveth in the devill whom thei call barti amian, and upon other fantasies and visions that thei have seene'. He suggested that as they had no written scripture they could be converted to Christianity 'if thei were well enstructed'.[34] However, Barlow did not recommend that Henry VIII should support the saving of their souls by promoting a mission to convert them for, unlike Enciso, he was not suggesting that his king should extend his imperial authority over them.

The focal point of Enciso's section on the New World is a description of how he delivered the *Requerimiento* to two chiefs of the Cenu, a people of the northern lowlands of Colombia ('á dos caciques destos del Cenu'). Although none of the primary sources relating to Cabot's voyage make an explicit reference to anyone reading out the *Requerimiento* at any stage, they do record several skirmishes resulting in fatalities. Barlow chose not to report these in his *Summe*, as there was no advantage in drawing the King's attention to such actions when they had been carried out on behalf of Castile. It is not surprising then, that Barlow omitted the long paragraph in which Enciso described how he overcame the resistance of the Cenu.

This paragraph was translated into English by John Frampton, a Bristol merchant who traded from Seville in the late 1550s before being imprisoned by the Inquisition. In 1578 Frampton presented Sir Humphrey Gilbert with an 'Englished' version of part of Enciso's *Suma* entitled *A Brief Description of the Portes, Creekes, Bayes, and Havens, of the West India*.[35] Frampton's translation of Enciso is likely to have been partly inspired by revenge. By 1578, relations between England and Spain had soured to the point that, rather than attempting to minimize offence to his reader by leaving out passages as Barlow had, Frampton left them in, so as to emphasize the conquistadorial character of Enciso and Spanish rule. Frampton may have known that, by retaining every detail of Enciso's text including descriptions of the coastlines of the Spanish-American possessions, the only Englishmen likely to benefit from his text would be pirates.[36] It is precisely

[34] Barlow, *Brief Summe*, pp. 42, 108 (n. 2), 160.

[35] John Frampton, *A Brief Description of the Portes, Creekes, Bayes, and Havens, of the West India* (London: Henry Bynneman, 1578).

[36] Donald Beecher, 'The Legacy of John Frampton: Elizabethan Trader and Translator', *Renaissance Studies*, 20 (2006), 320–39 (pp. 321, 329). As Frampton appears to promote trade

because Frampton did translate almost every word of Enciso's text that *A Brief Description* provides such a useful contrast to Barlow's *Brief Summe*.

Frampton was keen to emphasize just how greedy, heavy-handed and devoted to Rome the Spanish were and he headed Enciso's description of how he delivered the *Requerimiento* to the Cenu 'A Protestation'. He gave the text a quintessentially English flavour by referring to the chiefs as 'Indian Gentlemen':

> I Did require two Indian Gentlemen of Cenu in the behalfe of the King of Castile, that they shoulde be subieit to the Kyng of Castile, and that he woulde give them to understande, that there was one God alone, whyche was three persons in one, and did require them, that they woulde leave unto him that countrey, seeying that it did upperteyne to him.[37]

Frampton translated Enciso's assurance that 'if any of them woulde not turne Christians, they would not be compelled by force', yet, if they did not pledge obedience to 'the one God' and the Spanish king in return for 'rewards and gifts', Enciso 'would make warre against them, and would take their Towne, & would kill as many as I tooke & would keepe the prisoners, and sell them for slaves'. In response to the threatening attitude of the Spanish, the Cenu brandished their poles and, according to Enciso, they showed him the decapitated heads of their enemies on these poles ('como tenian otras que me mostraron, de enemigos suyos puestas encima de sendos palos cabe el lugar'). Frampton translated Enciso's report that the Cenu threatened to 'put his head upon a staffe', but he left out his report that they thought the Pope he spoke of must be drunk and his king mad.[38] As those who had the *Requerimiento* read out to them generally did not understand Spanish, or could not hear the words because it was read from such a distance, one can only speculate as to what, if anything, was said. In any case, the Spanish 'tooke the towne by force', and, according to Enciso, 'they shotte at us an infinite nûber of arrows, & all poisoned w bcarbes [*flechasétodas herboladas*], wherewith they wounded two of our men, and both dyed, although their wounds were but small'.[39] Frampton may have left out the reference to the Cenu insulting

with Spain in his previous translation (Nicholas Monardes, *Joyfull Newes out of the Newe Founde Worlde wherein is declared the rare and singular virtues of diverse and sundrie hearbes, trees, oyles, plants and stones, with their applications, as well for phisicke as chirurgerie*, 1577), his motives are not always clear.

[37] Frampton (Enciso), *Brief Description*, p. 16.

[38] '[Q]ue ellos le pornian la cabeza en un palo'; 'dijeron que el Papa debiera estar borracho cuando lo hizo, pues daba lo que no era suyo; y que el Rey que pedía y tomaba tal merced, debia ser algún loco'.

[39] Frampton (Enciso), *Brief Description*, pp. 16–20; Enciso, *Description las Indias Occidentales*, pp. 24–26. For further discussion regarding rites of possession see Patricia Seed, *Ceremonies of*

the Pope and the Spanish king because it suited him to emphasize Enciso's arrogance by suggesting that he 'tooke the towne by force' simply because the Cenu had threatened him. Alternatively, he may have thought the claim was just too far-fetched.

Flora and Fauna

Enciso's descriptions of the flora and fauna of Darien, Jamaica, and Cuba, detailing what was edible and what was poisonous, were written to highlight the advantages of Spain colonizing these regions. Barlow, on the other hand, considered these passages irrelevant to his project and omitted them from his text. He also left out a section where Enciso stated that the Indians revealed that beyond the boundary of European discovery there were many islands rich in gold and pearls and a land where people read books and write ('muchas isles a do ay mucho oro y perlas' and 'ay tierra donde los indios dizen que ay gente que tienen libros y que escriven y leen como nosotros').[40] Barlow may have left this passage out because he saw no future for the English over the Andes in Peru. It was the fauna of the New World, especially those animals that lived in or by rivers such as the Paraná, that appealed to Barlow. He included Enciso's descriptions of animals as well as adding several vivid descriptions of his own. He lamented 'ffor to reherse the straunge sort of fyshes that be upon this coste and also the straunge beastes and foules of the lond it wold be a worke for to make another boke therof'. When it came to selecting which animals to describe, Barlow did not choose the larger animals which could be domesticated or whose skins could be used. As he was not proposing that Henry VIII colonize the area, he did not consider the economic value of the fauna and chose instead to describe the smaller exotic animals. Barlow proved skillful at describing these animals and was able to encapsulate their movement and colour in a few lines. However, it is obvious that at times he felt that he was unable to adequately convey the strangeness of his observation through adjectives alone. In these cases he resorted to the familiar. For example, when describing the 'straunge kind of fyshes' encountered off the coast of Brazil, he resorted to comparing them to 'the hie slippers that women do weare in

Possession in Europe's Conquest of the New World 1492–1640 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995); Stephen Greenblatt, *Marvelous Possessions: The Wonder of the New World* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991); and Henry Kamen, *Spain's Road to Empire: The Making of a World Power*, 2nd edn (London: Penguin, 2003).

[40] Enciso translation in Padrón, *Spacious Word*, p. 91.

Spayne'.[41] In the case of the armadillo, he elaborated on Enciso's brief description, searching for ways to convey the strange juxtaposition of characteristics to his reader by comparing the beast to European animals:

> Also ther is a kynde of small beastes no bigger than a pigge of a moneth olde, and the fete the hede and the eares be like a horse, and his bodie and his head is all covered saving his eres wt a shell moch like the shell of a turtuga, but it is the very proportion of an armed horse for this shelle hangeth downe by his sides and afore his brest moving as it were hanged by gymowes, or moche like the lappes of a complete harneis. It is an admiration to behold it. Hit fedeth like a horse and his taile is like a pigges taile, saving it is straight.[42]

Barlow was able to conjure up scenes that are almost cinematic. His description of flying fish fleeing for their lives encompasses several levels of action and is breathtaking in its complexity:

> We sawe many divers and straunge fysshes and spetiallie fysshes that we called boladoras, which doe flie above the water at one flight further than a man shall shote a flyght shafte, and thei flie an innumerable sort of them together as though it war a flight of small byrdes. And there we sawe a grete nombre of fowles flieng, as bigge or bigger then a kyte or a puttor, wch hathe ther tailes forkyd, and as the forseid fysshes flieth above water thes foulys abate on on [*sic*] them, and of them maketh ther praie. And as thes fysshes escapeth from them underwater ther is another sort of fysshes called bonytas, and be as bigge as a small milwell, and thes swymmes alwaie a grete nomber of them so that thes fyshes have no rest nother underwater nor above.[43]

The most intimate and vivid evocation of an animal in the *Summe* is Barlow's description of humming birds — the first description of these creatures in the English language that has survived. He described them as 'smal byrdes which be no bigger of bodie then the toppe of a mans thombe but they have the goodliest coloured fethers that ever man might se, the colours wold chaunge in moving of them as it were chaungeable silke'. Barlow explained how humming birds make their nests on the slenderest branches above the river so that monkeys and other predatory animals 'dare not a venture upon it for falling in the water'. He could barely contain his wonder at this miracle of God's creation: 'What a mysterie is this to thinke upon and to laud god, to geve so little a birde knowledge to defend her self from thes vermin.'[44] It is significant that while Barlow considered the tiny,

[41] Barlow, *Brief Summe*, p. 153; Miguel de Asúa, *A New World of Animals: Early Modern Europeans on the Creatures of Iberian America* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), p. 21.

[42] Barlow, *Brief Summe*, p. 176.

[43] Barlow, *Brief Summe*, pp. 148–49.

[44] Barlow, *Brief Summe*, p. 161.

scented bird as a miracle of God's creation, he dismissed the monkey as vermin. Monkeys were a familiar sight in Europe's port cities where they were kept as pets. Although they could be considered a treasured luxury item, they were also incorporated in artworks to symbolize lust or malice.[45] Just as Barlow judged the monkey he encountered according to European prejudices, so he judged the people of the New World.

Behaviour and Customs

Barlow inserted two major sections in his translation of Enciso's text that he knew would both scandalize and fascinate his readers. One section related to the Tupis, the indigenous people he encountered along the River Plate. They could be converted to Christianity, he claimed, only 'it wold be hard to make them leve ther bestlie living, for thei be so carnallie set'.[46] The other took the form of a lengthy excerpt regarding the 'beastlie facions' of Calicut, taken from *The Travels of Ludovico di Varthema*.[47] Before examining how Barlow described these two groups, it should be noted that throughout the cosmography, Enciso's descriptions of Europeans were perfunctory, relating to stature, trade, military prowess, and history.[48] However, as Enciso 'travelled' further away from Europe and the societies he was familiar with, his descriptions of communities contained less detail about what people did and more about what they were, or rather what Enciso thought they were. As the people of the western Nile traded gold with the Portuguese in exchange for copper and dyed cloth, Enciso described them in terms

[45] John T. Paoletti and Gary M. Radke, *Art in Renaissance Italy* (Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall, 2006), p. 402.

[46] Barlow, *Brief Summe*, p. 160.

[47] Barlow, *Brief Summe*, pp. 147–48. Barlow translated the 1510 Italian text *Itinerario de Ludovico de Varthema Bolognese*, available to modern readers as *The Travels of Ludovico de Varthema*, ed. by John Winter Jones and George Percy Badger (London: Hakluyt Society, 1863). See also Penrose, *Travel and Discovery in the Renaissance*, p. 29. Varthema claimed to have visited the Spice Islands, travelling to the easterly islands of Ternate and Banda, although this is strongly disputed.

[48] For example, in describing the inhabitants of the Low Countries, Enciso (as translated by Barlow) noted: 'In this contrey is made moche lynen clothe and wollen of diverse sortes and much harneis. The people of thes parties be of good complexion and geven moche to handie craftes.' The Germans of Saxony are described as being 'tall of person and well made and valiant' while those of Bohemia are 'grete of person and valiant, enclyned to warre. In tyme paste thei defended the romaynes manfully and were never overcome of them' (Barlow, *Brief Summe*, pp. 40–42).

of their trade, metalworking skills, and battle prowess, as well as noting that they 'be blacke and of good disposition'.[49] However, on reaching the more unfamiliar territory of Ethiopia, Enciso revealed that the Ethiopians 'hath ther wyfes common' and 'go for the most part all nakyd' before stating that 'a gret part of the ethiop is fertill and plenty of golde, and in some partes ther is aromates and spices as clowis and gynger'.[50] Enciso did not write about the everyday lives of the people he came across in Africa simply because this involved cooking food, caring for children, and other activities which were familiar to Europeans. It is as if by choosing to observe those practices in Africa most at odds with what was considered to be proper and godly behaviour in Europe, Enciso justified the right of Europeans to partake of their land and raw products. He was not interested in engendering sympathy in his readers but in pointing out how different these people were. Enciso engaged in a construction of 'otherness' that Barlow embraced and extended.

Although Calicut, on the Malabar Coast, was known to Europeans as a major trading centre for spices, it was Varthema's purportedly firsthand accounts of sexual and religious practices there that Barlow dwelt on. He admitted that to have included all of Varthema's description 'wold make a very grete volume and wold be tediose to the readers' and that his aim was that 'the reders maie perceave moche of ther beastlie facions'. He explained how 'the king of calycut dothe worship the devil as his god' and that the 'gentilmen and marchantes of Calicut acustometh oftentymes in token of grete love among them, and to encrese more love betwene them to chaunge ther wifes one with another', before revealing how a woman of the 'common people' may marry up to seven men who 'cometh to her by nyghtes'.[51] However, Barlow was not content with simply translating Varthema's words and he reorganized his text in order to consolidate the drama. By including a section regarding the practice of *sutee* in Tarnassari, Barlow gave the impression that a widow leapt into her husband's funeral pyre 'with as gret ioye and pleasure as maye be' in Calicut.[52] As Barlow was prepared to manipulate Varthema's text in order to optimize the strangeness of Calicut, this suggests that he was prepared to package his presentation of the New World accordingly.

[49] Barlow (Enciso), *Brief Summe*, p. 105.

[50] Barlow (Enciso), *Brief Summe*, p. 112.

[51] Barlow, *Brief Summe*, pp. 147–48.

[52] Barlow, *Brief Summe*, pp. 144 and 146–47, translating Varthema, *Travels*, p. 207. Tarnassari is situated in modern Burma/Myanmar.

The people in the region of the River Plate were Tupi-Guaraní. At this time there were around seventy Tupi-Guaraní languages, grouped into nine branches, centred in southern Amazonia. At the time Barlow visited the region, numerous Tupi speakers lived along the Brazilian coast and inland as far as the Paraná, while Guaraní was spoken in coastal regions south of Tupi territory, and inland as far as modern Paraguay and Bolivia. The Tupi were the traders of the region and, as Europeans penetrated the area, communities allied with the French, Spanish, or Portuguese. This resulted in Tupi languages becoming 'the lingua franca of traders, missionaries, and soldiers'.[53] Barlow reported that these 'topys' had a nomadic lifestyle and, when they moved, each man was accompanied by seven or eight wives who carried all their goods and children. He called the watertight houses they constructed from poles and leaves 'bohiros' and recorded how they slept in 'beddes thei calle hamacas'.[54] When describing these people, Barlow had to rely on his own experience or that of his colleagues. The challenge he faced, shared by all European narrators at this time, was that there was no frame of reference in which to anchor experience, for history stopped short of the New World.[55] Unlike Peter Martyr, Barlow did not consider that the New World provided a 'miraculous confirmation of the traditions and myths of the Greeks and Romans'. He did not liken the women to 'shapely dryads' or compare the men's body paint to that of 'the Thracians and Agathyrses', nor did he view nakedness or lack of European 'sophistries' as an indication of innocence.[56] Barlow chose to describe those practices in the New World that seemed most at odds with what he considered to be proper and godly behaviour. He reported only one conversation — with a group of Tupis living in the proximity of the mouth of the river. He wrote that he and his colleagues 'thought it unmeete to se very old men have yong wenches and to se yong boyes to have old women' and so 'askyd them wherfore thei dyd so'. The Tupis replied that 'yong women cowd no skyll of the worlde, and therefore thei be coupled wt old men for that thei maie instructe or

[53] 'South American Languages: Mapping a Forest of Cultures', *Athena Review: Quarterly Journal of Archeology, History and Exploration*, 1 (1997), available online at <http://www.athenapub.com> [accessed September 2007]. The languages spoken included Omagua, Cocama, Nhengatu, Potiguara, Tupinambá, and Tupinikin.

[54] Barlow, *Brief Summe*, pp. 151–52.

[55] J. H. Elliott, *The Old World and the New 1492–1650* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970), p. 8; and Mary Baine Campbell, *Wonder and Science: Imagining Worlds in Early Modern Europe* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1999), p. 25.

[56] Peter Martyr, quoted in Gerbi, *Nature in the New World*, pp. 51–62.

teache them how thei maie order ther house' and that the older women similarly answered that 'yong men can not skyll of the worlds how to lyve'.[57] Barlow's report of this encounter suggests that either a member of Barlow's group spoke the local language or one of the Tupis could speak Spanish or Portuguese. This is possible, as Cabot's party did meet up with both Portuguese and Spaniards who had been left in the region by previous voyages. It is relevant because Barlow's descriptions of warring communities of Tupis further up river include details that are unlikely to have been based on his observation alone. He observed that the first community he encountered had 'divers kinges wch the people do obaie' and they left their slain enemies 'to be devoured of wylde bestes'.[58] Barlow did not comment on this practice but signalled his disgust of the 'guaranies', a southern community of Tupis who dwelt 'up the river of parana', with the margin note 'Guaranys wikked people'. He noted the 'grete generation of indies called guaranies which be verie yll people, and contynuallie make warre upon ther bordres and one ete another'.[59] It was not simply the fact that these Tupis practised cannibalism which fascinated Barlow; it was that they cosseted their captives before ritualistically killing and eating them.

Barlow concentrated on describing the behaviour of the women in the ritual, simply because it went against every rule regarding female behaviour and family mores as he understood they should be:

> [A]nd if ther prisoner be not fatte he wil kepe him till suche tyme as he be in good plight, and in this meane tyme thei wyl cherishe and fede him with the best meates that he can get and one of his wifes shall have the keeping of him, and at all times that he lysteth he shall take his pleasure of her, but every night he shalbe tyed and watched for steling awaie. And every dai she wil paint him and dresse as though he ware her owne husbond and wil lede him with a corde made of coton tied about his necke from place to place, accompanied with many daunsyng and syngyng, and making as moche pleasure as thei can, and he likewise wt them, till suche tyme that thei do entende to kyll him.[60]

Barlow did not pass moral judgement on the fact that the Tupi women had sex with their captives and joined in the eating of them: he did not have to, for such behaviour was so obviously at odds with the Christian ideal of femininity. By choosing to focus on this aspect of the women's behaviour, Barlow was adhering to a tradition of highlighting difference through what Europeans regarded as

[57] Barlow, *Brief Summe*, p. 152.

[58] Barlow, *Brief Summe*, pp. 151–52.

[59] Barlow, *Brief Summe*, p. 157.

[60] Barlow, *Brief Summe*, p. 157.

deviant.[61] He described the ritual of execution and devouring of the prisoners as if he were observing it himself:

> [A]nd the daie that thei wil kyll him he shalbe brought into a fayer place wch shalbe prepared for him and about his necke he shal have a color made of cotton and to that color shalbe tied v or vj cordes and round about the place shalbe set erthen pottes paynted and full of water and then the aunciest of the kynred shal take every one of them a corde that is so tyed about his necke and so lede him into the myddis of the place and stonde rounde about him wt ther cordes in ther handes.[62]

Barlow described how the prisoner seemed calm until he 'seeth him there, and all the pottes prepared for him, then he begynneth to rave and runneth about', constrained by the cords, 'til he be so weried that he falleth downe, then the ladd wt his sworde of tree manglyth him in the hede til the brayne falleth out'. Barlow went on to note how they 'cut and tere him to pieces and put him in the pottes to seethe' and 'have eten him up everie morcelle', then described how 'the boye that dyde kille him' received a tattoo on his back as part of a coming-of-age ceremony, 'Fo' here thei be not regarded til he hathe kylled his enemye, and the more in nombre he kylleth the more he is esteemed, and for every one that he kylleth he shal have a strike made on his backe as before.'[63]

Although Barlow may have observed the ritual he described, or heard of it from other Europeans his party encountered in the vicinity of the Plate River, cannibalism, along with idolatry, was seen to justify conquest and thus reports of it must always be met with some degree of scepticism.[64] Having lived and worked in the port of Seville, Barlow may have seen maps decorated with scenes of cannibalism and may have heard of Vespucci's descriptions of cannibal feasts, even if he had not read them himself. He could have noted that naked women were active participants in cannibal feasts in the woodcuts made to illustrate the 1509 Ger-

[61] Jennifer L. Morgan, '"Some could suckle over their shoulder": Male Travellers, Female Bodies, and the Gendering of Racial Ideology, 1500–1770', *William and Mary Quarterly*, 54 (1997), 167–92 (p. 170).

[62] Barlow, *Brief Summe*, p. 158.

[63] Barlow, *Brief Summe*, pp. 157–59.

[64] Neil Whitehead, 'Carib Cannibalism: The Historical Evidence', *Journal de la Société des Américanistes*, 70 (1984), 69–88; and Don Gardner, 'Anthropophagy, Myth, and the Subtle Ways of Ethnocentrism', in *The Anthropology of Cannibalism*, ed. by Laurence R. Goldman (Westport, CN: Greenwood, 1999), pp. 26–49 (p. 37). Earlier papal pronouncements had proclaimed a doctrine defining cannibalism as a sin that merited punishment by Christians through arms and in 1503 Queen Isabella of Spain had declared that Spaniards could legally enslave American Indians who were cannibals.

man edition of Vespucci's letters, a factor thought to be particularly shocking.[65] As Charles Zika has pointed out in *Exorcising our Demons*, such images were linked to the iconography of Saturn and 'firmly rooted in the visual traditions of the sixteenth century'.[66] Barlow's descriptions of cannibalism and other cultural encounters with the people of the New World were not based on innocent, intuitive reactions. Lust, monstrosity, and cannibalism were conventional long-standing European attributes applied to people remote and different from themselves.[67] Yet, although Barlow would have been affected by this entrenched way of stigmatizing the other, there is a major difference between his description of cannibalism and other textual and visual depictions circulating in the first half of the sixteenth century. While Barlow described an ordered ritual, other versions depicted cannibalism as a habitual, random activity, in keeping with mythical descriptions such as Mandeville's where the people of Lamary 'eat more gladly of a man's flesh than any other flesh'.[68] As the cultural and the social significance of such an event was beyond Barlow's comprehension, he would have placed it within a familiar ritualistic framework — using description to bridge the gaps between what he saw and what he understood, and what he knew his readers expected.[69]

[65] Illustrations of monstrous creatures and cannibalism featured in descriptions of the New World from Mandeville onwards. The earliest extant map on which an Indian appears is the Kunstmann II map (1502–06) in the Bavarian State Library in Munich. It shows an Indian roasting what appears to be a European on a spit. In Lorenz Fries's map, *Claudii Ptolemaei Alexandrini Mathematicor[um] Principis Opus Geographi[a]e Noviter Castigatu[m] & Emaculatu[m]*, printed by Johann Grüninger in Strasbourg in 1522, cannibalism is depicted in relation to *Terra Nova*. Similar images, attributed to Hans Holbein, feature in the Grynaeus maps of 1532 and 1537 which Barlow may have been familiar with prior to composing his *Brief Summe* in 1540–41. In one woodcut three naked women are reaching out to a European man and holding his attention while a fourth stands behind him with a cudgel that looks like a human thigh raised above her head. In another a woman holding her breast watches a man cut up a human arm and leg while a man in the foreground urinates.

[66] Charles Zika, *Exorcising Our Demons: Magic, Witchcraft and Visual Culture in Early Modern Europe* (Leiden: Brill, 2003), p. 230.

[67] Patricia Seed, '"Are These Not Also Men?": The Indians' Humanity and Capacity for Spanish Civilisation', *Journal of Latin American Studies*, 25 (1993), 629–52 (p. 633).

[68] J. H. Parry, *The Discovery of South America* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979), pp. 100–01; and Gerbi, *Nature in the New World*, p. 45.

[69] Anthony Pagden, *European Encounters with the New World: From Renaissance to Romanticism* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993), pp. 18–24. Pagden has suggested that the 'principle of attachment' (seeing and describing the unfamiliar through an existing framework) 'served to make the incommensurable seem commensurable'.

Barlow's portrayal of cannibalism as a ritualistic event, in which the victim is fed and cared for before being dispatched, could be said to stand in the tradition of Jean de Léry and André Thevet — yet it predates them. More importantly, it predates the account of ritualistic cannibalism in the area recorded by Hans Staden.[70] Staden was a German gunner at the Portuguese fort on the island of Sao Amaro who was captured in 1549 by the Tupinamba, a community of Tupis aligned with the French against the Portuguese. He claimed to have survived as their prisoner for nine months before escaping because he had managed to convince them that he was not Portuguese. He learned their language and his record of imprisonment (published in Marburg in 1557) gives a particularly detailed account.[71] To sum up, Barlow's account of cannibalism in the New World was not just the first in the English language; it was the first to describe this kind of ritual. It thus goes to the heart of current debates regarding the cultural politics of cannibalism. William Arens has concluded that cannibalism cannot be proved to have occurred as a customary practice and that reports of it have always been slanderous attempts to discredit enemies or justify conquests.[72] Controversy clusters around Arens's assertion that Hans Staden's account of his captivity by the cannibal Tupi in 1549 is unreliable.[73] The debate assumes that all the purportedly firsthand accounts of the Tupis' practices are to be found in Staden's and Thevet's accounts. This debate has not taken into consideration the fact that Barlow

[70] Jean de Léry, *Histoire d'un voyage faict en la terre du Bresil* (Geneva: Antoine Chuppin, 1578); André Thevet, *Les Singularitez de la France Antartique, autrement nommee Amerique: Et isles decourvertes de nostre temps* (Paris: Le héritiers de M. de la Porte, 1557–58); Hans Staden, *Warhaftige historia und beschreibung eyner landtschafft der wilden, nacketen, grimmigen menschfresser leuthen in der Newenwelt America gelege* (Marburg: A. Kolben, 1557). Eva Taylor, *Brief Summa*, p. 157 n. 2, notes that Barlow's account of Tupi cannibalism is detailed also by Hans Staden, but does not point out that it predates it.

[71] Neil L. Whitehead, 'Hans Staden and the Cultural Politics of Cannibalism', *Hispanic American Historical Review*, 80 (2000), 721–51 (p. 749). Whitehead translates Staden's title as the *True history and description of a land belonging to the wild, naked, savage, man-munching people, situated in the New World, America*. The Tupinamba were a community of Tupis aligned with the French against the Portuguese.

[72] William E. Arens, *The Man-Eating Myth: Anthropology and Anthropophagy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979).

[73] See Whitehead, 'Hans Staden'; Donald W. Forsyth, 'Three Cheers for Hans Staden: The Case for Brazilian Cannibalism', *Ethnohistory*, 32 (1985), 17–36; and Frank Lestringant, *Cannibals: The Discovery and Representation of the Cannibal from Columbus to Jules Verne*, trans. by Rosemary Morris (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1997).

apparently observed the Tupis' cannibalistic practices in 1527 and delivered his description of them to Henry VIII at least eight years before Staden was taken prisoner.[74]

The world enclosed within the sixteenth-century cosmography was an ordered one, divided according to the movement of the heavens, with boundaries imposed at a distance. In rejecting some of some of Enciso's descriptions, embellishing others, inserting additional material, including the manipulated extract from Varthema and the account of cannibalism, Barlow created a cosmographical narrative that meshed with his assumptions and aspirations. In doing so, he revealed more about himself and sixteenth-century Europe than he did about the New World. He revealed that he was interested in learning for learning's sake but that his priority was trade and bringing new lands into the commercial European world, and that his responses to the people of the New World were not innocent, intuitive reactions. Barlow did not marginalize the Spanish as the 'other', as subsequent commentators did, yet he did marginalize those he found unfamiliar, such as the people of Calicut and the New World, by highlighting behaviour that he knew his readers would consider deviant. It was no coincidence that Calicut was commercially attractive to Europeans and the River Plate had the potential to be.

It has been said that there is only one thing one can be certain of regarding European descriptions of the New World during this period, and that is that they 'tell us something about the European practice of representation'.[75] Ricardo Padrón suggests that in filling the space between what is experienced and expected, description 'draws boundaries, making places out of disparate locations. It does so moreover, under the cover provided by its purely ancillary function.' The space between what Barlow had experienced and what he thought his reader expected would have been as amorphous as it was vast. Barlow responded, as Enciso had, by marking localities almost as stepping-stones along a route that aimed to push forward the boundary between the known world and the unknown.[76] Yet, just as the marked localities were often misplaced, so were the cultural descriptions, resulting in an advancing descriptive boundary that is as mesmerizing yet unreliable as the coastal outlines on sixteenth-century maps.

[74] I have an article in preparation regarding Barlow's account of cannibalism and its relevance to current debates: Heather Dalton, '"Making Feast of the Prisoner" in Roger Barlow's *A Brief Summe of Geographie*: An Account of the Tupis Pre-dating Hans Staden's'.

[75] Greenblatt, *Marvelous Possesions*, p. 7.

[76] Padrón, *Spacious Word*, pp. 21, 90.

Old World Philosophy in a New World: From Natural Slave to Natural Man

Daniel R. Brunstetter

In fourteen hundred and ninety two — we all know the story — Columbus sailed the ocean blue. Leaving aside whether the Admiral from Genoa actually 'discovered' the New World, it is clear that his fortuitous arrival in the West Indies led to one of history's most dramatic encounters. As Abbot Raynal remarked nearly three centuries later in his famous *Histoire philosophique et politique des établissements et du commerce des Européens dans les deux Indes* (1781), the discovery led to 'a revolution in commerce, the power of nations, and in the mores, industry and government of all peoples'.[1] These historical ramifications, however, are only part of the story, as the discovery was also an important catalyst in literary and philosophic terms. It triggered, during the sixteenth century, a serious investigation into the nature of man through the lens of European attempts to understand the 'Indios' of the Americas.

In this essay, I investigate how the period surrounding the discovery of the New World demarcates a crossroads of ideas regarding the nature of man. For Europeans, the shock of the unforeseeable appearance of this previously unknown continent with strange peoples provided no satisfactory historical or cultural paradigm for understanding the 'other' of this alien world. Whereas all previous encounters with strange peoples and unknown lands 'had been to some degree, however small, anticipated' because Europeans knew 'roughly where to find them', no one expected the discovery of the Amerindians of the New World.[2]

[1] Guillaume Thomas Raynal, *Histoire philosophique et politique des établissements et du commerce des européens dans les deux Indes*, 10 vols (Geneva: Pellet, 1780), I, 2.

[2] Stephen Greenblatt, *Marvelous Possessions: The Wonder of the New World* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991), p. 54.

Within the European picture of the universe circa 1490, the continent of America 'as such, literally [did] not exist' and its discovery was 'unforeseen and unforeseeable'.[3] In 1490, the world was thought to be complete, because Ptolemy had charted it. By 1500, there was suddenly a whole new continent whose appearance did the unthinkable — it proved Ptolemy wrong. And, in the words of Montaigne, 'if Ptolemy was once mistaken on the grounds of his reason' the question remained whether or not it 'would be stupid for me now to trust to what these people say' about the New World.[4] Montaigne's reference to 'these people' was an implicit reference to Aristotle, whose philosophy defined the dominant philosophical paradigm. His scepticism reveals how the contemplation of the New World led him to question the authority of this paradigm, and hence the traditional notions of humanity.

As a consequence of this shock encounter with the previously unknown beings of the New World, the beginning of the sixteenth century saw a period of deep reflection on the nature of humanity as European travellers, philosophers, and theologians grappled with the strangeness of the Americas. I argue that the discovery raised questions about the nature of humanity, bringing into doubt the validity of the traditional Aristotelian categories of medieval philosophy applied to understanding the New World, thus leading to innovations in the concept of human nature. I focus on two thinkers whose ideas signify divergent points on the spectrum to be found at this historical juncture: Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda and Michel de Montaigne.

Sepúlveda was a Spanish thinker whose work embodies the classical Aristotelian vision of Old World philosophy.[5] His understanding of the indigenous

[3] Edmundo O'Gorman, *The Invention of America* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1961), p. 73. On the assimilation of the New World into the Old World see Anthony Grafton, *New Worlds, Ancient Texts: The Power of Tradition and the Shock of the Discovery* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992); and Michael T. Ryan, 'Assimilating New Worlds in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries', *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 23 (1981), 519–38.

[4] Michel de Montaigne, *The Complete Essays of Montaigne*, trans. by Donald Frame (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1958), II.12, p. 430. All references to Frame's edition include the book number, essay number, and page number.

[5] Aristotle was the dominant classical authority during the Middle Ages in Christendom. His ideas penetrated the theoretical frameworks of all the most important Christian thinkers. See Cary Nederman, 'The Meaning of "Aristotelianism" in Medieval Moral and Political Thought', *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 57 (1996), 563–85; and Otto Gierke, *Political Theories of the Middle Age* (Boston: Beacon, 1958).

populations of the New World as the equivalent of Aristotle's natural slaves, articulated in his dialogue *Democrates secundus de justis belli causis* written in the 1540s, shows his adherence to Aristotelian political categories to make sense of the novelty of the newly discovered continent.[6] Sepúlveda is best known as the infamous opponent of Bartolomé de las Casas at the famous debate at Valladolid in 1550 regarding the justice of the conquest and the rights of the indigenous.[7] His ideas are valuable to understand because they represent how those who saw the New World through the lens of the traditional paradigm viewed the indigenous. Yet, while Sepúlveda remained wedded to the dominant Aristotelian vision of man inherited from the Middle Ages, the French thinker Montaigne, who was writing in the 1580s, fashioned a new understanding of man in his *Essays*. Troubled by the cruelty of the Spanish encounter with the Americas, Montaigne was sceptical of the traditional Aristotelian paradigm and thus looked at the New World through a different lens.[8] When confronted with the problem of how to understand those whose barbaric customs, according to the inherited paradigm, suggested they were closer to natural slaves than human beings, he viewed them as the epitome of natural man.

The interest of pairing these two thinkers is twofold. First, they were presented with the same set of 'facts' about the New World. Sepúlveda garnered his empirical data on the Amerindians based on firsthand conversations with the conquistador Hernán Cortez. Montaigne received a large portion of his facts from Cortez's official biographer, Francisco Lopez de Gómara, whose *Histoire générale des Indes occidentales et terres neuves* he read in translation.[9] Second, while they

[6] I use the bilingual Spanish-Latin edition, Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda, *Democrates segundo o de las justas causas de la guerra contra los Indios*, trans. by Angel Losada (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1984), hereafter *Democrates secundus*. All translations are my own.

[7] There is an abundance of literature on the Valladolid debate. See the seminal work by Lewis Hanke, *All Mankind is One* (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 1974); also Angel Losada, 'The Controversy between Sepúlveda and Las Casas in the Junta of Valladolid', in *Bartolomé de las Casas in History: Towards an Understanding of the Man and his Work*, ed. by Juan Friede and Benjamin Keen (Dekalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 1971), pp. 279–306.

[8] There is no evidence that Montaigne was aware specifically of Sepúlveda's arguments, nor that he was targeting the Spanish humanist. However, he was aware and highly critical of Aristotle's arguments which inspired Sepúlveda, as well as Sepúlveda's source for the New World, Cortez.

[9] One of Sepúlveda's prime sources for the New World was Hernán Cortez's *Cartas de relación*. Sepúlveda makes reference to conversations he had with the conquistador (*Democrates secundus*, p. 7). The eyewitness accounts of the conquering captain give credence to the historical

had similar facts, they came to entirely opposite conclusions about the nature of the Amerindians.[10] This essay is thus a portrait of philosophy in the age of discovery in which I illustrate the extremes that characterized the intellectual understanding of humanity. The discovery of the New World marks the context in which contemplation of human nature led to the challenge of the bastion of Old World medieval philosophy — Aristotle — sparking the transition from viewing the Amerindian as natural slave to natural man.

Sepúlveda and the Aristotelian 'Indios'

In his dialogue *Democrates secundus*, Sepúlveda attempted to deduce the unknown nature of the Amerindians. In spite of the novelty of the New World, namely that it was unknown to the ancients, he purported to situate it in the European cosmos by finding its proper place in the Aristotelian paradigm. Responding to the problem faced by the Spanish Crown of how to justify the conquest, he relied on the authority of Aristotle to demonstrate that the Amerindians were fit to be ruled by the Spanish *by nature* because they belonged to the category of natural slaves. Examining Sepúlveda's ideas sets the context for understanding the changes seen in Montaigne because his ideas represent the stringent Aristotelian view, the classical example of Old World philosophy which marked the prevailing view of the indigenous populations.

accounts of the Amerindian customs that Sepúlveda utilizes, given that he himself had never been to the Americas. For a discussion of Sepúlveda's relationship with Cortez, and of Sepúlveda's own history of the New World, *De Orbo Novo*, which recounts Cortez's exploits, see Angel Losada, *Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda a través de su Epistolario y nuevos documentos* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1949). On Montaigne's debt to Cortez through Gómara see Pierre Villey, *Les Livres d'histoire moderne utilisés par Montaigne* (Paris: Librairie Hachette, 1908).

[10] While both Sepúlveda and Montaigne have been studied with care, no attempt has been made to link the thinkers and compare their ideas. One scholar compares Montaigne with Sepúlveda's prime adversary, Bartolomé de las Casas, but leaves aside direct comparison with Sepúlveda. See William M. Hamlin, *The Image of America in Montaigne, Spenser, and Shakespeare* (New York: St Martin's, 1995). On Sepúlveda see, for example, Anthony Pagden, *The Fall of Natural Man*: *The American Indian and the Origins of Comparative Ethnology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), pp. 109–19; and David Lupher, *Romans in a New World: Classical Models in Sixteenth-Century Spanish America* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2003). On Montaigne see David Schaefer, *The Political Philosophy of Montaigne* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1990); and Alan Levine, *Sensual Philosophy* (London: Lexington, 2001).

The Amerindians as Natural Slaves

Sepúlveda proclaimed he would explain the 'just and rational subordination' of the Amerindians by referring to the ideas of the great philosophers and theologians of the canon, which were based on 'natural law and common to all'.[11] With regards to the Amerindians, his adherence to the theory of natural slavery was the product of the exercise of his reason in the manner of Aristotle, looking into Nature to judge the Amerindians.[12] The perceived bestial nature of the indigenous was an important sign for Sepúlveda because it led him to classify them in a specific category of men found in Aristotle: the natural slave.[13]

The classification of the Amerindians as natural slaves was deduced from the natural law. For Sepúlveda, reading into the natural law led him to conclude that the Amerindians were lacking in reason, just like Aristotle's natural slave. Natural law structures man teleologically to his end, and is the standard by which society should be judged. The telos, or end of man, according to Sepúlveda, is virtue. The telos of society is living well, which is achieved by providing good laws that will lead the citizens to live virtuously. The extent to which a society is 'civilized' depends therefore on whether its laws are in accordance with the natural laws because man cannot reach his teleological end in a society whose laws are not in accordance with Nature. These societies, such as those of the Amerindians, are considered naturally inferior because their customs indicate that they cannot judge the good from the bad, which is an indication that they are lacking in reason.

For Aristotle, the teleological view of man resulted in different categories of men based on their rational capacities. In Book I, Chapters 5 and 13, of *Politics*, Aristotle discusses different types of human beings distinguished by different levels of reason. This gradient of reason provided a natural hierarchy of inequality which Sepúlveda exploited as a template for defining and categorizing the newly discovered Amerindians.

[11] Sepúlveda, *Democrates secundus*, p. 2.

[12] On the use of Aristotle to define the nature of the Amerindians see Lewis Hanke, *Aristotle and the American Indians* (London: Hollis and Carter, 1959).

[13] The conception that the Amerindians were inferior barbarians represents the most prevalent explanation of their nature in early sixteenth-century Spain. Sepúlveda was the first philosopher to systematize the argument that they were natural slaves, although the argument had been used as early as the Junta de Burgos in 1512. On the common views of the Amerindians in sixteenth-century Spain see Pagden, *The Fall of Natural Man*, pp. 27–37.

On the upper echelon there is the master. He is equipped with the ruling element, what Aristotle calls the deliberative element. He has complete virtue of character and is the perfect specimen offered by nature, the highest echelon of humanity.[14] He can determine what is just and unjust and rule accordingly. All masters are equal among themselves and have the right to rule and be ruled in turn. On the next level are women. They are fully rational but lack, according to Aristotle, the power to command, which means they do not have the capacity to rule.[15] They are followed by children, who do not have the deliberative element but will acquire it with time and education. On the final level is the natural slave. The natural slave is lacking in reason and is meant to be ruled by the superior master. For Sepúlveda, this represented the correct classification of the Amerindians who appeared to lack reason.[16]

The conclusion that the Spanish were masters and the Amerindians natural slaves was contingent on Sepúlveda being able to show that the Spanish were superior and the Amerindians were inferior. He accomplished this by looking at the customs of each, placing the facts he received from Cortez about the 'Indios' into the parameters of the Aristotelian paradigm. He spent little time proving the superiority of the Spanish, deeming the process unnecessary. He simply offered as evidence the genius of Lucan, Seneca, and San Isidro, the courage of their valiant captains, as well as the force, humanity, justice, and religion of the Spanish people.[17] The Spanish were seen as superior because they had the following qualities which made them so: prudence, wisdom, magnanimity, temperance, humanity, and religion structured according to the natural law. These qualities reflected the virtues of the superior expressed by Aristotle and later by Thomas Aquinas which would allow them to lead a life of virtue in the temporal world and in the world beyond.

[14] Aristotle, *The Politics*, trans. by Carnes Lord (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984), p. 53.

[15] Aristotle, *The Politics*, p. 52.

[16] On the term natural slave and its meaning see R. E. Quirk, 'Some Notes on a Controversial Controversy', *Hispanic American Historical Review*, 34 (1954), 357–64; and J. A. Fernández Santamaria, 'Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda on the Nature of the American Indians', *The Americas*, 31 (1975), 434–51. For more detailed interpretations of what Aristotle actually said about natural slavery see Jill Frank, 'Citizens, Slaves, and Foreigners: Aristotle on Human Nature', *American Political Science Review*, 98 (2004), 91–104; and Nicholas Smith, 'Aristotle's Theory of Natural Slavery', in *A Companion to Aristotle's Politics*, ed. by David Keyt and Fred D. Miller (Oxford: Blackwell, 1991), pp. 142–55.

[17] Sepúlveda, *Democrates secundus*, pp. 33–35.

The Amerindians, on the other hand, showed the opposite characteristics. Sepúlveda deduced from their customs that they were deficient in reason. Based on the accounts of Cortez, Sepúlveda learned that they had no sciences, no letters, no history, and no written laws. He read about how they ate the flesh of their enemies to satisfy their ferocity, and participated in idol worshipping, human sacrifice, and cannibalism. And he gleaned that the cowardice and ferocity of Mexicans revealed them to be men of extremes who were incapable of virtue, craven like their king Montezuma, and ferocious beastlike cannibals. These characteristics implied a lack of civilization.[18]

Unlike Montaigne, who cited these characteristics as signs of the naturalness of the Amerindians, Sepúlveda interpreted them as a sign of underdevelopment and hence of inferiority. Their customs represented crimes 'considered by the philosophers to be to the most ferocious and abominable perversities' and were signs of inferiority because they demonstrated an inadequacy of reason for judging the good from the bad.[19] He thus concluded that the Amerindians were 'as inferior to the Spanish as children are to adults, women to men, the cruel and inhumane to the sweet, the exaggeratedly intemperate to the continent and moderate, and finally, that is to say, monkeys are to men'.[20] The logical equivalent of such creatures according to the traditional paradigm was the natural slave, who also lacked in reason.

The Political Consequences of Natural Slavery

The logical conclusion of the natural slavery theory was that the Spanish, as the more civilized, should conquer the inferior Amerindians. By extending the scope of the natural law argument to the domain of war, Sepúlveda contended that the more civilized could dominate the less civilized by force. Citing Aristotle, Sepúlveda claimed that it is just to subdue those whose natural condition implied that they be ruled: 'the perfect [...] dominate over the imperfect'.[21]

For Sepúlveda, the rational (hence more perfect) soul dominates over the irrational (imperfect) body. The former maintains 'civil rule' while the latter is 'servile by nature'. The same relationship, he claimed, holds for reason over the

[18] Sepúlveda, *Democrates secundus*, pp. 35–36 and 62.

[19] Sepúlveda, *Democrates secundus*, p. 38.

[20] Sepúlveda, *Democrates secundus*, p. 33.

[21] Sepúlveda, *Democrates secundus*, p. 20.

passions. For the depraved, the body dominates over the soul, a state which is against nature and akin to the position of the Amerindians *qua* natural slaves. Those who exceed others in 'prudence' and 'wisdom', though not in bodily strength, are those who 'dominate by nature' while those who are 'underdeveloped in mind, but have strong bodies to complete necessary deeds, are servile by nature'.[22] The echoes of Aristotle's theory of natural slavery are clear. For Aristotle, the natural slave is strong in body, but weak in mind, and is among the class to be ruled.[23]

This guiding principle has political ramifications as it necessarily resulted in a natural hierarchy of rule. According to the natural law the barbaric, who are servile by nature, submit to the more civilized nations. In the case of the Americas Sepúlveda concluded that it was the natural order of things that the Amerindians submit to the Spanish. Such rule could be imposed by arms if necessary, as argued by Aristotle.[24] Sepúlveda's argument rested on the fact that the Spanish were helping the Amerindians reach their teleological end by bringing them Christianity, establishing good governance, and ridding them of their barbaric customs.[25]

The conclusion to be drawn from this analysis is that Sepúlveda remained wedded to his classical predispositions in interpreting the New World. He addressed the problem of the New World with a set of pre-formulated philosophical tools, namely a political paradigm of human nature drawn from Aristotle. His attempt to understand the Amerindians amounted to finding the likely correspondent in the philosophy of Aristotle, which turned out to be the natural slave, and then defining their position in the empire accordingly. The world was, for Sepúlveda, divided into the categories of civilized and barbarians, a natural hierarchy of inegalitarianism. Christianity represented the epitome of civilization, while the Amerindians represented the inferior 'other'. In spite of the fact that his account seemed to deny the principles of Christianity in pointing to the inability of the Amerindians to receive the faith because they were deficient in reason, the humanist steadfastly defended it on the authority of Aristotle.[26]

[22] Sepúlveda, *Democrates secundus*, pp. 21–22.

[23] Aristotle, *Politics*, 1.5, pp. 41–42.

[24] Sepúlveda is referring to the passage from *Politics*, 1.8, where Aristotle says that hunting ought to be practised 'against men who, though intended by nature to be governed, will not submit; for war of such a kind is naturally just' (p. 45).

[25] Sepúlveda, *Democrates secundus*, p. 38.

[26] In Aristotle, the natural slave participates in virtue, but not fully because he is deficient in reason. He is not capable of living the good life fully or of reaching his teleological end. In a

The Death of Aristotle and the Birth of Modern Man in Montaigne

Montaigne represents the other end of the philosophical spectrum compared to Sepúlveda, describing the Amerindians not as inferior natural slaves but as the superior exemplar of natural man. The term *natural man* should not be confused with the concept of the noble savage. While some critics contend that Montaigne viewed the Amerindians as noble savages, this argument betrays Montaigne's more nuanced impressions. For Montaigne, the essence of natural man is that he is not teleologically oriented. The Amerindians represented natural man in so far as they lived closest to Nature and vacillated between goodness and evil. They showcased the virtues Montaigne most respected, such as moderation, enjoyment of pleasure, and tolerance. They were devoid of dogma, and hence of biased judgements. In this sense, they were superior to Europeans in spite of what their customs might suggest to the patent Aristotelian. However, even to Montaigne, they were not completely idyllic. They had traces of evil in them, such as the cruelty of their sacrifices, and they showed the willing potential to become corrupted when exposed to the European way of life. They revealed the nature of man according to Montaigne, not as superior or inferior, not as directed toward the end of the perfection of their soul, but as potential, a being in motion vacillating between the good offered in Nature and the evil rampant in Europe, but with no fixed teleological direction.[27]

Faced with the same facts about the Conquest, Montaigne's conclusions differed in two respects from Sepúlveda's. First, instead of viewing the Amerindian customs as a sign of inferiority which made them subject to be ruled, Montaigne viewed their customs as signs of their naturalness, and hence of their virtue. They manifested the potential good qualities of human nature. Second, the Spanish conquistadors lauded by Sepúlveda manifested for Montaigne the evil potential of human nature. In the context of the New World, he constructed a dual portrait

Christian setting, this is problematic because it means that the natural slave *qua* Indian could not attain the Christian end — salvation. Adapting the natural slave argument to humanity was thus a blatant contradiction to Christian thought. Sepúlveda, however, while he seemed aware of this contradiction, nevertheless remained wedded to Aristotle. He even argued that the 'Indios' *qua* natural slave, even after living under Christian laws, would remain almost beastlike, that is, perpetually in the position of the natural slave. See Sepúlveda, *Democrates secundus*, p. 38. Such was the power and scope of the Aristotelian paradigm in shaping his thought.

[27] On Montaigne and the noble savage tradition see Gilbert Chinard, *L'Exotisme américain dans la littérature française au XVI^e siècle* (Paris: Hachette, 1911); and Stelio Cro, 'Montaigne y Pedro Mártir: Las raices del buen salvaje', *Revista de Indias*, 190 (1990), 665–85.

of human nature that combined these two characteristics and denied the teleological Aristotelian vision of man.

This view of man was made possible by Montaigne's rejection of the classical paradigm, especially the authority of Aristotelianism.[28] Stepping free from the auspices of philosophical convention, Montaigne reinterpreted the human condition through the lens of the New World. He rejected the teleological view which determined Sepúlveda's conclusions, proffering an understanding of man as a radically individual and positively cultural being. The New World showed him that man is radically individual in the sense that he has a common beginning — a malleable potential, but no fixed teleological end determined by the natural law. He can thus be good and/or evil. He is positively cultural in that he is the product of his culture, which is judged not by natural law but by Nature, according to Montaigne. Montaigne's conception of man depicted him as fundamentally equal in his nature, for nothing natural differentiates him from another man because of the diversity of legitimate customs. He is depraved only by the products of his own making — which are truly conventional and, in Montaigne's view, synonymous not with the perceived savageness of the New World and its barbarians, but with the decadence and cruelty of Europe, personified by the conquistadors.

Montaigne's Rejection of Authority

At the beginning of the essay 'Of Cannibals' Montaigne warned his reader to be wary of common opinions when judging others: 'Thus we should beware of clinging to vulgar opinions, and judge thing by reason's way, not popular say.'[29] With this statement, he challenged the authority of the classical paradigm, epitomized by Sepúlveda, to judge the nature of the Amerindians. He reiterated this challenge as a prelude to his reflections on Cortez's conquest of the Aztecs in the essay 'Of Coaches': '[T]here is nothing unique and rare as regards knowledge, but there certainly is as regards our knowledge, which is a miserable foundation for our rules and which is apt to represent to us a very false picture of things.'[30] The authoritative paradigm used to justify Sepúlveda's conclusions thus came into doubt

[28] On Montaigne's scepticism see Donald Frame, *Montaigne's Discovery of Man: The Humanization of a Humanist* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1955); and David Schaefer, *The Political Philosophy of Montaigne* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1990).

[29] Montaigne, *Complete Essays*, I.31, p. 150.

[30] Montaigne, *Complete Essays*, III.6, p. 693.

because that kind of knowledge did not provide an accurate picture of the world or of man.

Challenging the authority of the classics shook the reader's faith in their ideas, which allowed Montaigne to formulate his own interpretation of the Amerindians without relying on the categories of the traditional paradigm. Unlike Sepúlveda, Montaigne denied all aspects of the Aristotelian view of human nature and the political structure of society. Montaigne's argument against the current authority rested on a critique of the idea of universal truth. He indicated that the truths we hold to be universal are nothing more than convention, and thus have no standard of authority. Specifically, he criticized the conventional understanding of European superiority vis-à-vis the Amerindians and showed that we can strip away what we think is natural — the scholastics' understanding of natural law for example — to reveal that it is merely convention. In other words, the Aristotelian paradigm used by Sepúlveda to deduce his conclusions about the Amerindians was not the ultimate standard, but a faulty standard. Thus, in the essay 'Apology of Raymond Sebond' Montaigne called the doctrine of Aristotle 'a magisterial lie [that is] peradventure as false as another'.[31] The thrust of Montaigne's argument against authority was that no opinions in books ought to govern the way we act, or constrain our free judgement of the world, and no such opinions should serve as the standard by which to define human nature. Therefore, the conclusion reached by the likes of Sepúlveda that the cannibals are inferior because they eat human flesh or because they lack letters was placed into doubt.

Montaigne's rejection of authoritative sources to judge the Amerindians reflects a larger trend evident throughout the *Essays*, pointing to a systemic foundation not often attributed to the author of the *Essays* but one that is definitely present in the context of the Americas. In order to show the fallibility of the traditional paradigm in judging the customs of others, Montaigne showed how the customs of the New World are not against the natural law as Sepúlveda concluded. In a passage in 'Of Custom', he provided a list of such customs that directly implicate the New World: making gods out of whatever one wants including lions, fishes and idols that represent the passions (idolatry), 'liv[ing] on human flesh' (cannibalism), the prostitution of wives to house guests, infidelity 'without sin', incest, and homosexuality.[32] He took these examples from Gómara's

[31] Montaigne, *Complete Essays*, II.12, p. 403.

[32] Montaigne, *Complete Essays*, I.23, pp. 81–83.

reproachful descriptions of the New World, but instead of condemning them he suggested that they were viable despite what the scholastic natural law said.

All of these customs are clearly against the natural law according to Christians, as Gómara pointed out, but Montaigne listed them as customs that were equally reasonable, and which would not seem so strange 'if we consider what we regularly experience: how much habit stupefies our sense'.[33] This is the exact opposite of the natural law arguments, inspired by Aristotle, proffered by Sepúlveda. Whereas, for Sepúlveda, Aristotle was the master authority who provided the philosophical means to understand the novelty of the New World, for Montaigne he is but the fodder of parrots; of the sayings of the classical authorities such as Cicero, Plato, and Aristotle perceived as universal knowledge, 'a parrot could well say as much'.[34] In sum, the dismissal of classical authority removed the standard of how to interpret humanity and consequently left Montaigne free to judge the Amerindians differently.

The Nature of Man in the New World

Montaigne's own use of Gómara to valorize the customs and actions of the Incas and Aztecs and to criticize the European conquistadors reflected his own attempt to step out from the bounds of the traditional paradigm. His interpretations of the Amerindians and the conquistadors were exactly the opposite of those portrayed by the Spanish historian and painted a very different picture of man and politics than the one found in Sepúlveda.

Gómara praised the valour and magnanimity of the Spanish, the bringers of the Christian truth, and demonized the Amerindians as cannibalistic and idolatrous barbarians. Montaigne, however, aware of this pedantic bias, gave a very different account. Considering Montaigne's borrowing from Gómara reveals that the Frenchman removed the denigrating statements regarding the Amerindians' barbarity and the praise of the Spanish captains' courage, emphasizing to the point of exaggeration the legitimacy of the Amerindian customs and vaunting their courage while criticizing Spanish vice and cruelty. For Montaigne, Cortez's exploits were an example of the destruction of innocent and valiant societies justified by a false view of the world projected by the traditional paradigm.

[33] Montaigne, *Complete Essays*, I.23, p. 78.

[34] Montaigne, *Complete Essays*, I.25, p. 100.

Recognizing Montaigne's selective reading of the Spanish historian offers evidence of how Montaigne judged the New World. He was presented with all the 'facts' of the Amerindians' cruelty and the bravery and the virtue of the Spanish, but because he did not judge them according to the Aristotelian paradigm, he came to different conclusions than Gómara, and thus than Sepúlveda.[35] In a distinct change from Gómara's view of the Amerindians, Montaigne stated clearly that the Aztecs and the Spanish were equal: the Amerindians may have been from an 'infant' world, but they were 'not at all behind us in natural brightness of mind and pertinence' or 'in industry either'. Montaigne himself recognized the 'awesome magnificence of the cities of Cuzco and Mexico'.[36]

The equality of these two clashing civilizations defined the parameters of Montaigne's natural man. In 'Of Coaches', he provided the reader with a two-faced portrait of the opposite ends of the human spectrum. The Spanish came to the New World under the guise of piety, to spread the 'belief in one single God, and the truth of our religion, which they advised them to accept, adding a few threats'. As Montaigne emphasized, the Iberians' vice drove them to other ends:

> [S]o many cities razed, so many nations exterminated, so many millions of people put to the sword, and the richest and most beautiful part of the world turned upside down for the traffic of pearls and pepper [...]. Never did ambition, never did public enmities, drive men against one another to such horrible hostilities and such miserable calamities.[37]

Their ambition, their presumption, and their greed enflamed by legends of unheard-of quantity of treasure compelled them to treachery and injustice, as is exemplified in the story of their treatment of the two captured Indian kings.

The Spanish captured and ransomed the King of Peru for gold. But when the huge fortune of 'one million three hundred and twenty-five thousand five hundred ounces of gold, besides silver and other things that amounted to no less' was not enough to satisfy their thirst for treasure, they ransomed him again to obtain what was left, and then executed him. A similar scenario of cruelty characterizes the story of the last king of Mexico. After his defeat and capture, when the Spanish

[35] For a comparison between Montaigne and Gómara see Raymond Esclapez, 'Les Religions du Nouveau Monde dans les *Essais*', in *Montaigne et le Nouveau Monde*, ed. by Claudes Blum, Marie-Luce Demonet, and André Tournon (Paris: Société internationale des Amis de Montaigne, 1994), pp. 209–25.

[36] Montaigne, *Complete Essays*, III.6, pp. 693–94 and 698.

[37] Montaigne, *Complete Essays*, III.6, p. 695.

did not find the gold they were looking for, they tortured him and had him 'grilled before their eyes' in order to find the treasure they so desired.[38]

The conquistadors themselves did not see the cruelty of their actions, instead viewing them as if they were virtuous: 'we have these narrations from themselves, for they not only admit them but boast of them and preach them'.[39] This was symbolic of the sickness of Europe, deformed by the false truths of the traditional paradigm. The conquistadors envisioned themselves rendering a service to God by conquering the New World, paving the way for the conversion of the Amerindians and the salvation of millions of souls. Yet they were deceiving themselves with their own presumption and were blind to the effects of their imagination, so far were they removed from Nature. As Montaigne explained in the essay 'Of Vanity':

> [W]hoever boasts, in a sick age like this, that he employs a pure and sincere virtue in the service of the world [...] does not know what virtue is, since our ideas grow corrupt with our conduct (indeed, hear them portray it, hear most of them glorying in their behaviour and making their rules; instead of portraying virtue, they portray injustice pure and simple, and vice, and present it thus falsified for the education of princes).[40]

However, the portrait of the Spanish was mirrored by the valiant conduct of the Amerindians. Montaigne described the 'indomitable ardour with which so many thousands of men, women, and children came forth and hurled themselves so many times into inevitable dangers for the defence of their gods and their liberty'. Then he countered the vice of Pizarro with the virtue of the Incan king who bore his execution 'without belying himself either by look or word, with a truly royal bearing and gravity', just like the virtuous cannibal prisoner in the face of his captors in the essay 'Of Cannibals'. He continued by contrasting the denatured state of Cortez with the 'fortitude' of the last Aztec king, 'a great-souled prince', who cheekily replied to his compatriot who complained of the pain associated with being roasted alive: 'And am I in a bath?'[41]

What purpose did Montaigne's retelling of the conquest serve? Montaigne's criticism of the conquistadors clearly served as a criticism of Europe, but his commentary was also linked to his understanding of human nature.[42] The polar-

[38] Montaigne, *Complete Essays*, III.6, pp. 696–97.

[39] Montaigne, *Complete Essays*, III.9, p. 759.

[40] Montaigne, *Complete Essays*, III.9, p. 759.

[41] Montaigne, *Complete Essays*, III.6, pp. 694–97; for the virtuous cannibal, see I.31, p. 156.

[42] See Edmund Duval, 'Lessons of the New World: Design and Meaning in Montaigne's "Des cannibales" (I:31) and "Des coches" (III:6)', *Yale French Studies*, 64 (1983), 95–112; and James

opposite images he provided of the conquistadors and the Amerindians served to reveal his understanding of humanity. This portrait of human nature — vacillating between good and evil as opposed to being directed teleologically — defined natural man.

Judging the Amerindians: Natural Man Revealed

Montaigne's questioning of authority, which framed his interpretation of Amerindians, led him to jettison the traditional view of human nature as teleologically structured, one which led Sepúlveda to label the Amerindians as rationally inferior and natural slaves. Turning to the New World and the two-faced portrait of the conquest, Montaigne reinterpreted human nature by defining man as ultimately malleable.[43] His arguments for cultural relativism debunked the traditional view of man as the image of the civilized European in the Christian sense, painting instead a picture of natural man in the New World who had the potential to be innocent and happy (like the Amerindians) or cruel and corrupt (like Montaigne's Europeans).

Man for Montaigne is a product to be determined, fundamentally equal at the core, but different according do his culture. Human nature is potentiality; potentiality not in the Aristotelian sense of developing reason and being able to thus achieve one's end, but potentiality in the sense of being malleable, where the end is not living the contemplative life or attaining Christian salvation, but living according to one's means, according to Nature.[44]

Montaigne's view of Nature is not the same as the Aristotelian view. Happiness is not found in reaching a preordained end fixed by the natural laws. For Montaigne, man is directed to no end at all. This was a complete break from the classical political paradigm, and offered a distinctly modern view of the human

J. Supple, '"Que n'est tombée soubs Alexandre ou soubs ces anciens Grecs et Romans une si noble conquest": Montaigne et les conquérants de l'or', in *Montaigne et le Nouveau Monde* (see n. 35, above), pp. 85–93.

[43] My argument counters the thesis of Todorov, who argues that Montaigne's reflections on the Amerindians never escape the classical typologies which he borrows and upon which he frames his interpretation, whereas I make the claim that his reflections on the Amerindians led him to formulate a new view of human nature. See Tzvetan Todorov, *Nous et les autres: La Réflexion française sur la diversité humaine* (Paris: Seuil, 1989).

[44] See Catherine Demure, 'Lecture des "Cannibales": Montaigne, *Essais*, livre premier, chapitre 31', in *Montaigne et le Nouveau Monde* (see n. 35, above), pp. 179–94.

condition not found in Sepúlveda. As Montaigne exclaimed in the 'Apology of Raymond Sebond', the Amerindians 'enjoy happiness of a long, tranquil and peaceable life without the precepts of Aristotle and without acquaintance with the name of physics'.[45] They enjoy happiness without recognizing the physical order of the universe explained by Aristotle and adapted by Christianity. Their happiness is not linked to a universal order and structure, to a specific political regime that will lead them to a fixed (Christian) end, or to any end whatsoever. Moreover, philosophy as the scholastics practised it is not useful in structuring one's life. Natural law (and therefore the political laws such as Sepúlveda's view that the perfect dominate over the imperfect) cannot be verified or validated. As the case of Europe showed, philosophy had not led the Old World to the best laws:

> What then will philosophy teach us in our need? To follow the laws of our country — that is to say, the undulating sea of opinions of a people or a prince, which will paint me justice in as many colors and refashion it into as many faces, as there are changes of passion in those men? I cannot have my judgment so flexible.[46]

In both 'Of Cannibals' and 'Of Coaches', Montaigne gave two opposite images of man which defined his nature. He juxtaposed Europeans and Amerindians as two potentialities of man, developing out of different cultures. The first image we have of the New World in 'Of Cannibals' is one of innocence. The New World is even more perfect than Plato's *Republic*. The cannibals are not cruel, and their desires do not run amuck. They are lacking 'neither anything necessary nor that great thing, the knowledge of how to enjoy their condition happily and be content with it'. They are 'still in that happy state of desiring only as much as their natural needs demand'.[47] In other words, they follow Nature's rules which lead them to follow their 'barbaric' customs. The Aztec and the Incas share a similar life of simplicity, retaining their naturalness by living on only what their 'nursing mother [Nature] has provided'.[48]

Yet, the Aztecs have a sense of cruelty to their mores. At the end of the essay 'Of Moderation', Montaigne emphasized the cruelty of their human sacrifice by roasting a man and tearing out his entrails, a custom which they practised with

[45] Montaigne, *Complete Essays*, II.12, p. 404.

[46] Montaigne, *Complete Essays*, II.12, p. 437. On Montaigne's view of these religious controversies, see Géralde Nakam, *Les 'Essais' de Montaigne: Miroir et process de leur temps* (Paris: Nizet, 1984).

[47] Montaigne, *Complete Essays*, I.31, p. 156.

[48] Montaigne, *Complete Essays*, III.6, p. 693.

regularity.[49] This tempered his portrait of the cannibals, serving to demystify his idyllic discussion of the cannibals in the following essay. Given this revelation on Montaigne's part, it becomes clear that they could not be seen as idyllic.[50] Their cruelty marked them not as noble savages, but as men who had the potential to change to become even crueller. They are natural in the sense that this cruelty is only latent, but it is there.

The Europeans represented the contrasting view of human potential. In 'Of Cannibals', Montaigne implied that contemporary Europeans were not worthy to have discovered the New World. Why? Montaigne tells us later in the essay that the vice and corruption of Europe threaten to destroy the innocence of the New World.[51] The Europeans, as Montaigne illustrated in his essay 'Of Coaches', were driven by greed for gold and stopped at no limits of cruelty to achieve their desires.[52] The contrast with Sepúlveda is striking. Whereas for the Spanish Aristotelian human nature was a process of becoming, the perfection of one's soul, the transformation from barbaric to civilized, Montaigne suggested that there is no such upward journey. Indeed, as Montaigne's interpretation of Gómara reveals, the civilized became the barbaric in the New World.

Montaigne's portrait of the conquistadors, however, was not simply a mechanism to criticize Europe, but a means to describe human nature in its most natural setting, the New World. The conquistadors manifested the seeds of human nature running wild, without constraint. The potential for change was attributed to the cannibals, who willingly adopted Europe's ways, to their own detriment. The story goes like this: 'three of these men, ignorant of the price they will pay some day, in repose and happiness, for gaining knowledge of the corruptions of this side of the ocean; ignorant also of the fact that of this intercourse will come their ruin' went to France to visit the Old World. The cannibals passed from 'repose and happiness' and the 'serenity of their own sky' to the corruption of Europe. This exchange, which Europeans no doubt saw as showing the superiority of the Old World — 'our ways, our splendour, our cities', all of which the cannibals did not have — resulted in the ruin of the latter because it led them away from Nature, because it Europeanized them.[53] The point is that man is in motion, and he is

[49] Montaigne, *Complete Essays*, I.30, p. 149.

[50] See Edmund Duval, 'Lessons of the New World: Design and Meaning in Montaigne's 'Des cannibals' (1:31)', *Yale French Studies*, 64 (1983), 95–112.

[51] Montaigne, *Complete Essays*, I.31, pp. 153 and 158.

[52] Montaigne, *Complete Essays*, III.6, p. 696.

[53] Montaigne, *Complete Essays*, I.31, p. 158.

directed to various ends, even if these ends lead him to a corrupted state. The cannibals are transformed, and as they are, their natural virtues become artificial vice.

The transformation did not occur in 'Of Coaches' because the Incas and Aztec resisted the conquistadors to the death. Montaigne recognized that their self-defence is a choice which reflected their powers of judgement, which were still close to Nature. Their resistance was a sign of Montaigne's preferences, that the natural way of life was the best way, although it could not always be sustained. As he explained elsewhere, the Amerindians who had not adopted European customs 'retain alive and vigorous their genuine, their most useful and natural, virtues and properties'. However, these qualities had been debased in those who, after the arrival of the Europeans, had been adapted 'to our corrupted taste'.[54] As the Europeans transported their ideas, which included most poignantly Christianity, a fact that Montaigne could not have missed, the cannibals would become corrupted, a state that Montaigne supposed was 'already well advanced' given that Europeans had been in the New World for more than eighty years at the time he wrote his essays.[55] They become, in a sense, slaves of civilization, the civilization which Rousseau, inspired by Montaigne, would later vilify in his *First and Second Discourses*.[56]

Contrary to Sepúlveda, for Montaigne the arrival of European mores in the New World would inevitably corrupt the civilizations there as opposed to leading them to a better condition. Montaigne's point in foretelling this transformation was to show that man is not inherently good or evil but, like the two-faced god Janus, has the potential for either state. As he remarked elsewhere, life is neither good nor evil in itself: it is the scene of good and evil 'according as you give them room'.

[54] Montaigne, *Complete Essays*, I.31, p. 152.

[55] Montaigne, *Complete Essays*, I.31, p. 158.

[56] See Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *The First and Second Discourses*, trans. by Roger D. Masters (New York: St Martin's, 1964). In the *Second Discourse*, Rousseau viewed the Amerindians as noble savages, corrupted by the corrosive mores of European civilization. For Rousseau, they were naturally good, while European man represented a degenerate form of human nature. Montaigne's understanding was more nuanced, for he believed human nature to be a combination of good and evil. A more direct comparison is not possible in this context. On Rousseau see Arthur O. Lovejoy, 'The Supposed Primitivism of Rousseau's *Discourse on Inequality*', in *Essays in the History of Ideas*, ed. by Arthur O. Lovejoy (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1960), pp. 14–37. For a comparison see Tzvetan Todorov, *Le Jardin imparfait: La Pensée humaniste en France* (Paris: Grassett & Fasquelle, 1998).

Conclusion

The discovery of New World provided the impetus to reinterpret human nature in light of European contemplation of the strange, unknown beings living there. Medieval Aristotelianism, epitomized by Sepúlveda, stressed the natural inequality of man based on a Christian reading of Aristotle, leading the humanist to declare that the Amerindians were natural slaves. However, the rejection of this paradigm by Montaigne, who recognized the inadequacy of these categories, engendered an innovative mode of viewing humanity that departed from the teleological understanding of the human condition. Montaigne's natural man served to equalize humanity, unifying the civilized and barbaric into one human potentiality.

Montaigne's view of human nature was thus one based on an equal beginning, one of the potential of the human condition for multiple ends which would unfold according to the conventions of the context. His reading of Gómara showcased this twofold essence of man. Rather than dividing humanity into a dichotomy of civilized and barbarians or masters and natural slaves as Sepúlveda did, Montaigne recognized that human nature is a product of motion between good and evil.

The New World provided him a mirror to see the two faces of human nature, the potential to be good like the cannibals or evil like the conquistadors. The Amerindians were natural man — not the noble savage who is all good, but simply cannibals of the New World who lived the simple and noble life but were cruel and potentially the corrupt heirs of the conquistadors. The barbarians of the New World, when viewed in light of Montaigne's purposeful scepticism, represented not the image of the inferior natural slave copied from the natural law as seen in Sepúlveda and Gómara, but the template of man in flux, a portrait of human nature and human potentiality, for better or for worse.

The discovery of the New World was thus a catalyst that sparked important philosophical reflection which ultimately resulted in the rejection of Aristotelianism and the naissance of modernity. Teleological man was replaced by natural man, although what actually defined this natural man remained in dispute. From Hobbes's naturally self-interested and inquisitive man living in the state of nature to Rousseau's noble savages, the essence of this natural man became a matter of important debate in modern philosophical thought. Montaigne may have been among the first to break beyond the Aristotelian paradigm, and in doing so provided key elements of modern man's essence, namely that he is non-teleological, but his ideas, that filled the intellectual void created by the repudiation of tradition, left a new landscape which later thinkers inherited, challenged,

and reworked. Modernity was a philosophical New World in itself and Montaigne's ideas were only the beginning of a new way of looking at human nature. Thinkers such as Hobbes, Voltaire, and Rousseau turned to the natural man of the Americas to attempt to understand the philosophical contours that defined this new era of humanity and to grapple with the identity of modern man.

'As much desired as it was wondered at': Old World Encounters with New World Tobacco

Karen Jillings

Following the discovery of the Americas in the late fifteenth century tobacco was but one of many intriguing New World substances that explorers sent home for investigation, and its successful cultural translation was dependent on Europeans being able to negotiate a place and purpose for it within their own societies. Though tobacco tends to be cited as a paradigm of cross-cultural exchange between the Old and New Worlds, it differed from other New World commodities in that it was seen to occupy an integral role in Amerindian spiritual life which was absolutely at odds with what Western Christendom believed and accepted. As Mancall has observed, the plant therefore arrived in Europe with 'cultural baggage' from the Americas and so 'its migration across the Atlantic tells a very particular tale'.[1] Tobacco's arrival in the Old World was

> not a simple tale of the appearance of a novel commodity but [was] instead [something that] needs to be explained as a cultural phenomenon: the integration of a new substance by a broad range of Europeans acting for their own culturally validated reasons.[2]

Although tobacco was initially understood to be an intoxicating drug used by Amerindians to induce hallucinations and facilitate communication with demonic

[1] Peter C. Mancall, 'Tales Tobacco Told in Sixteenth-Century Europe', *Environmental History*, 9 (2004), <http://www.historycooperative.org/journals/eh/9.4/mancall.html> [accessed 25 August 2007], sec. 6.

[2] Mancall, 'Tales Tobacco Told', n. 11, summarizing the argument made in Jordan Goodman, *Tobacco in History: The Cultures of Dependence* (London: Routledge, 1993), pp. 37–55.

forces, it was also seen to possess valuable therapeutic properties which physicians and patrons alike sought to rationalize and subsequently exploit. Advocates of tobacco 'drinking', as the practice was initially termed, learned to invert its ungodliness and instead successfully re-brand it as a panacea of divine origin. By the middle of the sixteenth century two species of the tobacco plant — today identified as *Nicotiana tabacum* and *Nicotiana rustica* — were, according to the Italian botanist Pietro Andrea Mattioli, 'occasionally seen in gardens as a foreign guest'.[3] By 1570 it was being cultivated on a small scale in Belgium, Spain, Italy, Switzerland, and England, after which time recreational use of tobacco proliferated within Europe.[4] 'The fame of this so-called holy herb is already increasing everywhere', wrote the Flemish botanist Matthias De Lobel in 1571: '[O]ur time has known no new thing from the New World, which is to be considered among remedies, more ready and more effective for sores, wounds, ailments of the chest and wasting of the lungs.'[5] The plant's reputation as an avowed panacea boosted its popularity amongst European societies despite its relative novelty, with the first treatise on tobacco in English (published in 1595) lauding it as being since its arrival in the Old World 'as much desired as it was wondered at'.[6] Historians of tobacco have suggested a number of solutions to the question posed by Jordan Goodman in his history of the plant: '[H]ow was it [...] that a substance embedded within an incomprehensible cosmology, with meanings that were bewildering to outsiders, could find a place [...] within European culture [...] in such a relatively short space of time?'[7] In providing its own answer, this essay offers a detailed reinterpretation of the documentary evidence to build on Mancall's view that tobacco's successful transition from the New World to the Old was a process whereby Europeans 'learned to make [it] theirs by incorporating it into their own cultures and value systems'.[8] Through a reconsideration of the strategies adopted by Europeans in encountering and accommodating this most culturally charged of New World products, it will be contended that tobacco's successful reception by Old World societies was enabled by a conscious inversion

[3] Sarah Augusta Dickson, *Panacea or Precious Bane: Tobacco in Sixteenth Century Literature* (New York: New York Public Library, 1954), p. 38.

[4] Goodman, *Tobacco in History*, p. 37; and Grace G. Stewart, 'A History of the Medicinal Use of Tobacco, 1492–1860', *Medical History*, 11 (1967), 228–68.

[5] Dickson, *Panacea or Precious Bane*, pp. 44–45.

[6] Anthony Chute, *Tabacco* (London: printed for William Barlow, 1595), p. 29.

[7] Goodman, *Tobacco in History*, pp. 37–38.

[8] Mancall, 'Tales Tobacco Told', sec. 41.

of its apparent ungodly origins and a renegotiation of the accepted limits of known *materia medica*, which combined successfully with the novel yet addictive intoxication that the plant itself offered.[9]

On first investigation it might have seemed extraordinary that the tobacco plant could ever have been welcomed into Western Christendom, let alone achieve the phenomenal popularity it came to enjoy within a matter of mere decades. In struggling to interpret their initial encounters with tobacco, 'the Europeans' general belief in their cultural superiority [was] thoroughly shaken' by their observations of Amerindian practice.[10] Early explorers time and again commented on the integral role that tobacco was seen to occupy in shamanic cosmology. It was taken during ritualistic ceremonies in various ways including smoking, snuffing, and drinking its juice to induce hallucinations and conjure up the spirit world, and the association of tobacco with ungodly practices became a focal point for European commentators who wished to denounce it.[11] Dickson has contended that 'the origin of the sinister reputation which the plant and its various uses were to labour under' was to be found in the Italian priest Peter Martyr's (Pietro Martire d'Anghiera) influential *De rebus oceanicis et novo orbe*

[9] In so doing, this essay draws together a number of explanations that have been cited with varying degrees of emphasis in previous scholarship on the European reception of tobacco. In his *Tobacco in History*, for example, Jordan Goodman approaches his (largely secondary) source material as an economic historian intentionally writing a 'commodity history' in which consumption is his major focus. In discussing the reception of tobacco within European markets Goodman highlights the drug's ability to create dependence — a focus reflected in his book's subtitle — amongst growers and governments as well as nicotine-addicted consumers. As various reviewers have noted, 'this conceit gives unity to [his] vast topic' but is a metaphor which is sometimes 'slightly strained', particularly with regard to tobacco's role in Amerindian shamanistic practices for which the term 'intoxication' would be perhaps more appropriate; see the reviews of Goodman's book by Peter W. Black in *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, 1 (1995), 184–85, Russell R. Menard in *American Historical Review*, 100 (1995), 878, and Joyce E. Chaplin, *Journal of Southern History*, 61 (1995), 568–69. This essay does however concur, contingent on a slight modification, with Goodman's contention that sixteenth-century Europeans made sense of tobacco by subsuming it within their existing corpus of Galenic medical knowledge.

[10] Sabine Schülting, 'Tobacco — Sacred and Profane', in *Performances of the Sacred in Late Medieval and Early Modern England*, ed. by Susanne Rupp and Tobias Döring (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2005), pp. 189–203 (p. 201).

[11] J. G. R. Elferink, 'The Narcotic and Hallucinogenic Use of Tobacco in Pre-Columbian Central America', *Journal of Ethnopharmacology*, 7 (1983), 111–22; Johannes Wilbert, *Tobacco and Shamanism in South America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987).

decades, which chronicled the discovery of the Americas.[12] According to Richard Eden's English translation, early missionaries in Hispaniola encountered Amerindians drinking

> the pouder of a certeyne herbe, by whose qualitie they are dryuen into a furye; at whiche tyme (as they say) they lerne many thynges by reuelation of the zemes [i.e., idols] [...] concerning their warres, increase of fruites or scarsnes, or health and sickenes.[13]

Columbus's own narrative of his second voyage, though published considerably later, described how indigenous tribes used a forked cane to 'snuff up the dust. The words that they say none of our people understand. With this powder they lose consciousness and become like drunken men.'[14] As well as snuffing powdered tobacco (which was not recognized as such by these early commentators) as part of their ritualistic ceremonies, Amerindians inhaled its smoke directly. The Portuguese humanist Damião de Goes described similar practices observed by Pedro Alvarez Cabral on the first voyage by Europeans to Brazil in 1500; participants were seen to

> carry a calabash [gourd] made like the head of a man, with mouth, nostrils, eyes and hair, placed on the top of an arrow, within which they make smoke with dried leaves of the plant betum, and the smoke which is in the head they inhale to such an extent that they are drunk, and after they are quite beside themselves they make demoniacal gestures and movements, saying anything they please, or what the devil teaches them; what these say [the people] believe and accept as the truth.[15]

Tobacco was believed to facilitate users' communication with the devil not only through smoke inhalation or the snuffing of powdered tobacco but also through drinking its juice which likewise, according to the Italian physician Girolamo Cardano, 'cause[d] men to lose their senses, so that it seems to them that Demons are giving them answers'.[16] In his highly influential account of the plants of the West Indies Nicolás Monardes, a physician from Seville, credited the devil with inducing hallucinations by deceit:

[12] Dickson, *Panacea or Precious Bane*, p. 22.

[13] Peter Martyr, *The decades of the newe worlde or west India conteynyng the nauigations and conquestes of the Spanyardes, with the particular description of the moste ryche and large landes and ilandes lately founde in the west ocean perteynyng to the inheritaunce of the kinges of Spayne. [...] Wrytten in the Latine tounge by Peter Martyr of Angleria, and translated into Englysshe by Rycharde Eden* (London: Powell, 1555), fols 45^{v}–46^{r}.

[14] Dickson, *Panacea or Precious Bane*, p. 26.

[15] Dickson, *Panacea or Precious Bane*, p. 109.

[16] Dickson, *Panacea or Precious Bane*, p. 141.

> And as the Deuill is a deceiuer, and hath the knowledge of the vertue of hearbes, he did shewe them the vertue of this hearbe, that by the meanes thereof, thei might see their imaginations, and visions, that he hath represented to theim, and by that meanes doeth deceiue them.[17]

The devil loomed large in medieval and early modern minds, and his supposed manipulation of tobacco users was considered sufficient reason to dissuade Christians from smoking. In his *Work for Chimny-sweepers; or, A warning for Tabacconists* (described by Jeffrey Knapp as 'the first full-scale attack on tobacco to be launched in English') a physician calling himself Philaretes noted that 'this hearbe seemed to bee first found out and inuented by the diuell, and first vsed and practised by the diuels priests, and therefore not to be vsed of vs Christians'.[18] Tobacco's ungodly origins justified the vitriol unleashed by King James VI and I in his famous *Counterblaste to Tobacco*, first published (anonymously) in 1604. James denounced tobacco for the way it made smokers imitate 'these beastly *Indians*, slaues to the *Spaniards*, refuse to the world, and as yet aliens from the holy Couenant of God'. The King questioned his readers:

> What honour or policie can mooue vs to imitate the barbarous and beastly maners of the wilde, godlesse, and slauish *Indians*, especially in so vile and stinking a custome? [...] Why doe we not as well imitate them in walking naked as they doe? in preferring glasses, feathers, and such toyes, to golde and precious stones, as they do? yea why do we not denie God and adore the Deuill, as they doe?[19]

In an attempt to discredit former court favourite Walter Raleigh, whom he erroneously credited with introducing the 'savage custom' of smoking to England, James exclaimed that 'it seemes a miracle to me, how a custome springing from so vile a ground, and brought in by a father so generally hated, shoald be welcomed

[17] Nicolás Monardes, *Ioyfull newes out of the newe founde worlde wherein is declared the rare and singuler vertues of diuerse and sundrie hearbes, trees, oyles, plantes, and stones, with their aplications, aswell for phisicke as chirurgerie, the saied beyng well applied bryngeth suche present remedie for all deseases, as maie seme altogether incredible: notwithstandyng by practize founde out, to bee true: also the portrature of the saied hearbes, very aptly discribed: Englished by Ihon Frampton marchaunt* (London: W. Norton, 1577), fol. 39^{r}. Its publication 'provoked a wave of interest in tobacco across Europe' (Iain Gately, *Tobacco: A Cultural History of How an Exotic Plant Seduced Civilization* (London: Simon and Schuster, 2001), p. 41).

[18] Jeffrey Knapp, 'Elizabethan Tobacco', *Representations*, 21 (1988), 26–66 (p. 31); and Philaretes, *Work for Chimny-sweepers; or, A warning for Tabacconists: Describing the pernicious vse of Tabacco, no lesse pleasant then profitable for all sorts to reade* (London: imprinted by T. Este [and Thomas Creede] for Thomas Bushell, 1602), fol. F4^{r}.

[19] James VI and I, *A Counterblaste to Tobacco* (London: R. Barker, 1604), fols B^{v}–B2^{r}.

vpon so slender a warrant'.[20] As a monarch obsessed with eradicating demonical forces within society (notably through a concerted campaign of witch persecutions carried out in his kingdom of Scotland the previous decade, culminating in the publication of his anti-witchcraft treatise *Daemonologie*), it is little wonder that he sought to attack tobacco by emphasizing its ungodly origins. The King believed tobacco to have its origin in 'base corruption and barbarity', which made its use sinful.[21] This had also justified early missionaries in the Americas prohibiting the taking of tobacco as part of their Christianizing efforts, with one of the earliest Jesuit missionaries in Brazil, Manoel da Nóbrega, proclaiming in 1550 that

> no one of our brothers uses [tobacco], nor does any other of the Christians, in order not to imitate the unbelievers who like it very much. I need it because of the dampness and my catarrh, but I abstain — not what is useful for myself [do I want] but what is good for many that they may be saved.[22]

Nóbrega's awareness of tobacco's devilish associations made avoidance of it seem appropriate, even though he explicitly felt that he required it. His predicament was the same for all Christians when the Old World first encountered this novel, ungodly intoxicant, as they quickly came to understand its integral role within Amerindian society not only as a narcotic used to facilitate communication with the spirit world but also as an astoundingly effective medicine. This transformed tobacco from a dangerous tool of the devil to a commodity with incredible therapeutic and economic potential, and compelled Old World societies to renegotiate its place and purpose within their own cultures. As Iain Gately has noted, 'accounts of the tobacco plant's medical properties had excited the Europeans' curiosity, which triumphed over their spiritual revulsion'.[23]

As part of the process of legitimizing tobacco, the printed word — from journals recording explorers' experiences of encounter to second-hand histories of the Americas and, particularly, the many herbals and treatises that analysed the plant and its properties — was crucial in facilitating the separation of tobacco from its Amerindian 'spiritual trappings, effectively desacralizing it so that it could be integrated into the European market despite the protests of those who saw its

[20] James VI and I, *Counterblaste*, fol. B2^{r}.

[21] James VI and I, *Counterblaste*, fol. B^{r}.

[22] Dickson, *Panacea or Precious Bane*, p. 62.

[23] Gately, *Tobacco*, p. 38.

unholy origins as a sign of its fundamentally flawed character'.[24] But tobacco was not just desacralized; it subsequently underwent a process of what Sabine Schülting has termed 're-sacralisation' in which it became transformed into something 'divine', as Edmund Spenser's *Faerie Queen* described the plant in its first appearance in English poetry.[25] The dedication preceding Anthony Chute's *Tabacco*, the first treatise devoted to a discussion of the plant, echoed this by proclaiming it to be a 'diuine hearbe',[26] and the majority of tobacco's advocates likewise credited it with similar attributes as those used by John Beaumont in his mock panegyric *Metamorphosis of Tobacco* from 1602 — sacred, celestial, ethereal, heavenly, metaphysical, and immortal; 'in short, a "god"', as Knapp has noted.[27] Following the Italian physician Leonardo Fioravanti's comment in 1582 that the plant had been 'revealed in this century for human health through the goodness of God',[28] Edmund Gardiner in his *The Triall of Tabacco* also inverted the plant's origins by declaring that

> I suppose none will bee so mad to imagine that such a noble plant could come by chance, or bee inuented by the diuell, whose excellent vertues the profoundest can scarse perfectly vnderstand. By this wee may see the wonderfull workes of God, how that he can make things strange, great, and incomprehensible and wonderfull to mans iudgement.[29]

Europeans' reconfiguration of tobacco's origins compelled them also to rationalize its intoxicating effects. For advocates it logically followed that if the drug were divine rather than devilish, so too were the hallucinations induced by smoking. Roger Marbecke's *A Defence of Tabacco* typified this inversion by stating that the stupor induced by tobacco was 'vsed to cleare the braines, and thereby making the mind more able, to come to her selfe, and the better to exercise her heauenly gifts, and virtues'. In his opinion there was ample evidence to justify why his contemporaries 'should thinke it to be a rare gift imparted vnto man, by the goodnes

[24] Mancall, 'Tales Tobacco Told', sec. 6.

[25] Schülting, 'Tobacco — Sacred and Profane', p. 192; and Knapp, 'Elizabethan Tobacco', p. 27.

[26] Chute, *Tabacco*, fol. Aij[r].

[27] Knapp, 'Elizabethan Tobacco', p. 63 n. 82.

[28] Goodman, *Tobacco in History*, p. 77.

[29] Edmund Gardiner, *The triall of tabacco Wherein, his worth is most worthily expressed: as, in the name, nature, and qualitie of the sayd hearb; his speciall vse in all Physicke, with the true and right vse of taking it, aswell for the Seasons, and times, as also the Complexions, Dispositions, and Constitutions, of such Bodies, & Persons, as are fittest: and to whom it is most profitable to take it* (London: H[umphrey] L[ownes] for Mathew Lownes, 1610), fol. B3[v].

of God, then to be any inuention of the diuell'.[30] Writers who recounted the history of tobacco could not ignore its Amerindian origins or its purpose within New World cosmology. But Beaumont's description of the plant as 'the blessed offspring of an vncouth land' shows how Europeans learned to reinvent it as divine while still acknowledging its ungodly origins.[31] He aptly demonstrated its remarkable reinvention in his description of early explorers' first encounter with it:

> At last when they into *Americk* came,
> Drawne by the strange delights, and countries fame,
> They in the palace of great *Mutezume*
> Were entertain'd with this celestiall fume:
> Where they forgetting all their wonted pleasure,
> Imbrac't with ioy this truest *Indian* treasure.[32]

What most compelled the reinvention of this 'Indian treasure' was a belief in its extraordinary medicinal efficacy that was translated from the New World to the Old. Amerindians had always regarded plants that alter the mental state of the user, of which tobacco was one, to be 'endowed with supernatural powers' and they played an important role both in ceremonies and in folklore.[33] Medicine and superstition were practically indivisible and the shaman, as the medical expert within society, used tobacco in a number of forms to induce hallucinations through which he learned from their idols the nature of a patient's illness, enabling him subsequently to effect a cure. Tobacco was also administered in a variety of ways to aid the body, each undertaken in deference to the spirit world. Smoking was the primary therapeutic method but wet leaves and snuff plasters could be applied topically to heal wounds, abscesses, and cuts, and leaves could be chewed or juice drunk to alleviate both hunger and thirst.[34] Early visitors to the

[30] Roger Marbecke, *A Defence of Tabacco: With a Friendly Answer to the late printed Booke called Worke for Chimny-Sweepers, &c.* (London: Richard Field, for Thomas Man, 1602), fol. H2^{r}. Even though there existed 'no people, or nation so rude, or barborous in the world' as those indigenous to the Americas, he believed them to 'haue some sence, and feeling of God' but that 'they vnderstand him not a-right, as we Christians do'.

[31] John Beaumont, *The Metamorphosis of Tabacco* (London: imprinted for John Flasket, 1602), fol. B^{r}.

[32] Beaumont, *Metamorphosis of Tabacco*, fol. C^{r}.

[33] Francis Robicsek, 'Ritual Smoking in Central America', in *Smoke: A Global History of Smoking*, ed. by Sander L. Gilman and Zhou Xun (London: Reaktion, 2004), pp. 30–37 (p. 32).

[34] Goodman, *Tobacco in History*, pp. 19–36.

New World reported myriad instances of patients cured by the use of tobacco, as did indigenous writers who had been educated by missionaries. Bernardino de Sahagún's monumental history of Mexico, written in the Nahuatl language in the mid-sixteenth century, described the Aztecs' medicinal use of tobacco to cure abscesses, sores, headaches, colds, and diseases of the glands of the neck. Mayan medicine also incorporated tobacco into remedies for such ailments as aches and pains, snakebites, chills, convulsions, and skin diseases.[35] The Jesuit Fernão Cardim described his observations of indigenous Brazilians using tobacco in the 1580s, noting that 'the holy herb is helpful for various diseases, as wounds, coughs, &c. and it is especially beneficial for pains in the head and the stomach and for asthma'.[36] These and many other accounts testified to the marvellous therapeutic properties that Amerindians recognized tobacco in each of its forms to possess.

Europeans were intrigued and excited by tobacco's reputed healing powers, not least by the economic potential such a commodity offered. During the decades following initial encounter the plant was grown domestically within Europe only on a limited scale and primarily as 'a botanical curiosity', with most supplies imported from the Spanish Americas to meet a burgeoning market.[37] The founding of colonies such as Virginia in the early seventeenth century transformed tobacco into 'a tool of European political economy' and enabled profit to be derived from increasing taxation on imports.[38] Tobacco's 'commodification' was initiated by Europeans seeking both novel 'wonder drugs' and cheaper alternatives to medicines that had to be imported from the East at considerable expense.[39] Some had already been discovered — jalap from Mexico, for example, was already ousting rhubarb from the Spanish pharmacopoeia, and sarsaparilla was proving a cheaper alternative to another New World discovery, guaiacum, in the treatment of the Great Pox.[40] Patrons such as Philip II of Spain developed an interest in New

[35] Dickson, *Panacea or Precious Bane*, p. 59; F. Guerra, 'Maya Medicine', *Medical History*, 8 (1964), 31–43; F. Guerra, 'Aztec Medicine', *Medical History*, 10 (1966), 315–38.

[36] Dickson, *Panacea or Precious Bane*, p. 67.

[37] Jordan Goodman, 'Webs of Drug Dependence: Towards a Political History of Tobacco', in *Ashes to Ashes: The History of Smoking and Health*, ed. by S. Lock, L. A. Reynolds, and E. M. Tansey (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1998), pp. 5–40 (p. 7).

[38] Goodman, 'Webs of Drug Dependence', p. 5.

[39] A term employed in this context by Mancall, 'Tales Tobacco Told', sec. 17, and Schülting, 'Tobacco — Sacred and Profane', p. 192.

[40] Goodman, *Tobacco in History*, p. 39.

World flora and employed physicians and botanists to investigate and categorize these systematically, not least with the aim of better assessing their economic potential. Following Monardes and others Chute understood tobacco to have entered Europe in the form of seeds sent to the Portuguese court from Florida, where a man in the King's service 'who happily desirous to trie of what trueth a thing of such miracle might be', planted a seed in his garden, 'intending to try if the fame of the thing were no greater than the thing itselfe, which soone he found', as it was used to cure a boy of a facial ulcer.[41] Chute was writing about the Portuguese humanist Damião de Goes, one of the first to report great success in experimenting with tobacco both on humans and animals to cure what he termed 'desperate cases', including 'ulcerated abscesses, fistulas, sores, inveterate polyps and many other ailments'.[42] De Goes gave seeds of the plant to the French ambassador Jean Nicot (after whom tobacco's active ingredient, nicotine, is named), who also conducted successful experiments. In the 1567 edition of his *L'Agriculture et maison rustique* his fellow countryman Jean Liébault noted Nicot's successful cure of individuals with ulcers, tumours, ringworm, and cuts.[43] Tobacco continued to be scrutinized in the 1570s and 1580s; Nicolás Monardes declared it to be effective in the treatment of around twenty different disorders from toothache to cancer and believed it to be 'a most redie remedie, it doth marueilous workes, without any neede of other Surgery, but this only hearbe'.[44] In his *Briefe and True Report of the New Found Land of Virginia* from 1588 Thomas Harriot proclaimed that he had conducted many 'rare and woonderfull' experiments with tobacco, 'of which the relation would require a volume by it selfe: the vse of it by so many of late, men and women of great calling as else, and some learned Physicians also, is sufficient witnesse'.[45] The botanist Matthias De Lobel's comment in 1571 that tobacco 'should be preferred to any panacea, even the most celebrated' typified the way in which it came to be regarded by its advocates.[46] To cite just one example, Chute believed it to be capable of curing 'diuerse other diseases,

[41] Chute, *Tabacco*, pp. 26–27; Monardes, *Ioyfull newes*, fols 42^{v}–43^{r}.

[42] Dickson, *Panacea or Precious Bane*, p. 65.

[43] Dickson, *Panacea or Precious Bane*, pp. 72–75.

[44] Monardes, *Ioyfull newes*, fols 35^{r}–40^{v} (fol. 37^{v}).

[45] Thomas Harriot, 'A briefe and true report of the new found land of Virginia (1588)', in *Virginia Voyages from Hakluyt*, ed. by David B. Quinn and Alison M. Quinn (London: Oxford University Press, 1973), pp. 46–76 (p. 58).

[46] Dickson, *Panacea or Precious Bane*, p. 44.

which experience hath not yet brought to light' and was of the opinion that 'there is nothing that harmes a man inwardly from his girdle vpward, but may be taken away with a moderate vse of *Tabacco*'.[47]

Tobacco was used in many different ways, which increased its versatility as a medicine. Europeans adopted Amerindian practices to varying extents; topical application was the preserve of medical practitioners, chewing it remained a 'distinctly marginal' method, while snuffing was popular mostly in Spain and Portugal.[48] As the frontispiece to Chute's treatise depicted, smoking tobacco through a pipe became, as Doctor Bellamy noted in 1602, the 'most Soueraigne' method of consumption.[49] Early explorers had observed Amerindians using pipes made of cane or straw through which the smoke of lit tobacco leaves was inhaled and many attested to their own enjoyable experience of smoking.[50] The therapeutic use of smoke had been understood since ancient times as being 'not a newe inuented remedie, [but rather] an old and well approoued forme of medicine in many diseases', as William Barclay's *Nepenthes; or, The Vertues of Tobacco* acknowledged in 1614.[51] Just as miasmic diseases such as plague were believed to infiltrate the body through the pores and orifices, so too could smoke be used as 'an effective vehicle for conveying remedies' in the same manner.[52] The direct act of inhalation through purpose-made pipes was, however, rather more novel — Chute described it as 'so strange a maner of receiuing it, as phisicke was neuer guilty to the vnderstanding of' — and early accounts such as that of Monardes instructed audiences in how to smoke.[53] By the time his work was published

[47] Chute, *Tabacco*, pp. 43 and 19.

[48] Goodman, *Tobacco in History*, pp. 67, 69–71.

[49] Doctor Bellamy, *A New and Short Defense of Tabacco: With the Effectes of the Same; And of the Right Vse Thereof* (London: printed by V. S. for Clement Knight, 1602), fol. D2^{r}.

[50] To cite just one example, in his account of Sir John Hawkins's second voyage to the New World in order to procure slaves in 1565, John Sparke noted, 'the Floridians when they trauell haue a kinde of herbe dryed, which with a cane, and an earthen cup in the end, with fire, and the dried herbs put together, do sucke thorow the cane the smoke thereof' (Dickson, *Panacea or Precious Bane*, p. 129).

[51] William Barclay, *Nepenthes; or, The Vertues of Tabacco* (Edinburgh: Andro Hart, 1614), not paginated.

[52] Tanya Pollard, 'The Pleasures and Perils of Smoking in Early Modern England', in *Smoke* (see n. 33, above), pp. 38–45 (p. 39).

[53] Chute, *Tabacco*, pp. 12–13; and Monardes, *Ioyfull newes*, fol. 44^{v}. Monardes recommended that tobacco leaves were to be 'caste on a Chaffying dishe of Coales to bee burned takying the smoke thereof at your mouth through a tonnell or cane, your hed being well covered'.

tobacco was already being consumed in Europe 'to some extent', though it was during the 1570s that 'the process of the exchange of tobacco across two cultures was completed'.[54] Within a few years of tobacco being introduced to England (probably by Sir John Hawkins around 1565) pipes were being manufactured in London from materials such as clay and silver, and the art of pipe making spread from there to Germany, Scandinavia, and particularly Holland.[55] In considering the successful reception of tobacco in Europe it is important to note that neither the availability of tobacco nor awareness of the plant's reputed therapeutic properties were restricted to any one social class. This is in contrast to other New World commodities such as coca, which had similar therapeutic as well as narcotic significance to tobacco for Amerindian societies, principally among the Incas. In the process of cultural encounter, however, early accounts focused on its ungodly spiritual role and 'virtually ignored its significance as a medicinal plant'.[56] Europeans therefore saw no potential value in coca. Tobacco, on the other hand, seemed brimming with promise as a natural medicine.

As with other plants imported into the Old World from the New, tobacco 'represented a challenge to a view of nature that had survived since antiquity' to Europeans who had assumed the classical reference manual of known flora, namely Dioscorides' *De materia medica*, to be definitive.[57] The plant was initially believed to resemble yellow henbane (which he had described along with the black and white varieties), and was first identified as a separate species by Matthias De Lobel in 1571.[58] Though visitors to the Americas encountered myriad new species of flora, tobacco was one of relatively few non-European plants to make the cultural transition successfully and has the distinction of being the first to establish itself in Europe, well before chocolate, tea, coffee, and sugar.[59] Charles Talbot has

[54] Goodman, *Tobacco in History*, p. 47.

[55] Goodman, *Tobacco in History*, pp. 47 and 65–66; commenting on this Chute declared 'although it seems that the Indians [...] take this *Tabacco* in other maner of pipes than we, yet I thinke we shall not need to thinke our earthen or siluer pipes more vnapt than those which the Indians make of Palme leaues and such like' (*Tabacco*, pp. 15–16).

[56] Goodman, *Tobacco in History*, p. 50.

[57] Mancall, 'Tales Tobacco Told', sec. 8.

[58] Dickson, *Panacea or Precious Bane*, pp. 31–56 (p. 39).

[59] Goodman, *Tobacco in History*, p. 59; Rudi Matthee, 'Exotic Substances: The Introduction and Global Spread of Tobacco, Coffee, Cocoa, Tea, and Distilled Liquor, Sixteenth to Eighteenth Centuries', in *Drugs and Narcotics in History*, ed. by Roy Porter and Mikulas Teich (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp. 24–51.

argued that most plants did not survive the cultural transition due to a combination of ignorance, conservatism, and 'a lack of confidence on the part of the medical profession', who preferred substances with which they were already familiar rather than exotic drugs.[60] This was certainly not the case with tobacco; indeed, as will be contended later in this essay, its very novelty actually helped to boost its popularity within Europe. Talbot's view fails to account for the well-established trade in exotic commodities from the Orient and India that Europeans had long engaged in particularly when it is considered that the bulk of these were spices, which were then regarded as medicines. It is vital to recognize the context in which tobacco was received within an Old World whose inhabitants had, since ancient times, recognized that plants possessed medicinal value. A more adequate, if somewhat flawed, explanation for Europe's acceptance of tobacco may be summed up by Gately's observation that 'if [it] could be found a place in the Galenic [humoral] system [...] then its medicinal value would become apparent'.[61]

Since classical times the therapeutic properties of each species of flora had been ascertained in accordance with its perceived place in the humoral system that governed most clinical thinking. First proposed by Galen, it encompassed the notion that good health was dependent on maintaining equilibrium between the four humours of which the body was composed, and that an excess of a particular humour could be countered by ingesting a substance possessing qualities which balanced it. The act of inhaling the smoke produced by burning tobacco leaves was interpreted as exploiting the extreme and literal dry heat of fire, and so was considered ideal for ridding the body of superfluous phlegm, which was cold and wet. Smoking was therefore believed to be particularly effective in countering rheum, the common cold, and its associated symptoms. Thomas Elyot's *The Castel of Helth* (1541) considered there to be 'not any one more annoyance to the

[60] Charles Talbot, 'America and the European Drug Trade', in *First Images of America: The Impact of the New World on the Old*, ed. by F. Chiapelli, 2 vols (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1976), I, 833–44 (p. 841).

[61] Gately, *Tobacco*, p. 39. This argument is also made in Guenter B. Risse, 'Transcending Cultural Barriers: The European Reception of Medicinal Plants from the Americas', in *Botanical Drugs of the Americas in the Old and New Worlds*, ed. by W.-H. Hein (Stuttgart: Wissenschaft, 1984), pp. 31–42 (p. 39); Anthony Grafton with April Shelford and Nancy Siraisi, 'Drugs and Diseases: New World Biology and Old World Learning', in Anthony Grafton and others, *New Worlds, Ancient Texts: The Power of Tradition and the Shock of Novelty* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap, 1992), pp. 161–93.

health of man's body' than that ailment, and commentator after commentator reiterated the way in which the inhalation of hot and dry smoke purged various parts of the body of 'slimy and flematicke' substances such as saliva.[62] In accordance with this the hot and dry humoral qualities of tobacco smoke were believed to be particularly beneficial to inhabitants of the British Isles whom contemporaries, among them Marbecke and Chute, considered to be 'by nature subiect, to ouermuch moisture, and rheumaticke matter'[63] due to their country's 'cold phlegmatick soyle'.[64]

It is, however, wrong to identify the Galenic humoral system as the definitive filter used by European botanists and physicians either to accept or reject New World substances. Firstly, the system was open to interpretation depending on the empirical observations of the individual physician as a result of his investigations. Furthermore, substances could be accepted into European culture before they had been subjected to scrutiny and the humoral framework was more likely to be used retrospectively 'to ascribe properties to medicines after they had crossed the cultural divide'.[65] Schülting has modified Goodman's view that the Old World accepted tobacco 'because it could find a niche in European cultures of consumption especially as a medicine' by contending that 'tobacco's introduction into Europe implied a "translation" into a different culture where it had been unknown prior to the colonisation of America'.[66] It seems plausible to conclude that Europeans accepted previously unknown plants and other substances as long as they could find a place in those societies' existing understanding, just as Amerindians had accepted Old World commodities if they could be given a meaning within their own culture (itself a useful reminder that cultural encounter was most certainly a two-way process).

There can be no doubting that tobacco was able to make the cultural translation from New World to Old remarkably successfully, with numerous writers attesting to its popularity. Typical of these was Horatio Busino, a visitor to London in 1618:

[62] Knapp, 'Elizabethan Tobacco', p. 30; and Monardes, *Ioyfull newes*, fol. 44^{v}.

[63] Marbecke, *Defence of Tabacco*, fol. E^{r}; Chute, *Tabacco*, p. 3, noted that tobacco was beneficial because it contained 'naturall heat and vertue being so hote, and our soile so cold'.

[64] Barclay, *Nepenthes*, not paginated.

[65] Goodman, *Tobacco in History*, p. 41.

[66] Goodman, 'Webs of Drug Dependence', p. 6; and Schülting, 'Tobacco — Sacred and Profane', p. 191.

> One of the most notable things I see in this kingdom and which strikes me as really marvellous is the use of the queen's weed, properly called tobacco, whose dried leaves come from the Indies, packed like so much rope. It is cut and pounded and subsequently placed in a hollow instrument a span long, called a pipe. The powder is lighted at the largest part of the bowl, and [users] absorb the smoke with great enjoyment. They say it clears the head, dries up the humours and greatly sharpens the appetite. It is in such frequent use that not only at every hour of the day but even at night they keep the pipe and steel at their pillows and gratify their longings. Amongst themselves, they are in the habit of circulating toasts, passing the pipe from one to the other with much grace.[67]

Busino's observation summarizes many of the reasons identified by scholars to explain tobacco's increasing popularity during the decades after its arrival in Europe, including its addictiveness and subjectively beneficial effects on the user as well as the conviviality that the act of smoking engendered. To these may be added its novelty, its profitability, and its appeal to a wide spectrum of society.

For Old World consumers smoking was 'an experience for which [they] had initially no vocabulary and to which they sought [...] to give meaning'.[68] The fact that it was 'understood to be a new idea, a new experience' made them eager to negotiate a place for tobacco in their worldview.[69] The novelty of tobacco 'added lustre to its intrinsic charm' and increased its popularity, particularly when combined with the testimonies — both written and oral — of explorers and physicians proclaiming both its palatability and its therapeutic efficacy.[70] Contemporaries also recognized that the very novelty of smoking made it popular, with King James VI and I noting with dismay how such loathsome practices 'make their first entry into a Countrey, by an inconsiderate and childish affectation of Noueltie, as is the true case of the first inuention of *Tobacco* taking, and the first entry thereof among vs'.[71] Furthermore, as Busino's observation of London society showed, tobacco was 'in frequent use' by smokers keen to 'gratify their longings' and scholars have drawn attention to the psychological effects of addiction as another way of explaining smoking's popularity.[72] Its addictiveness was recognized in a play from 1630 that pitted the character of Tobacco against a variety of alcoholic

[67] Goodman, *Tobacco in History*, p. 66.

[68] Sander L. Gilman and Zhou Xun, 'Introduction', in *Smoke* (see n. 33, above), pp. 9–28 (p. 9).

[69] Gilman and Xun, 'Introduction', p. 10.

[70] Knapp, 'Elizabethan Tobacco', p. 31.

[71] James VI and I, *Counterblaste*, fols B^{r}–B^{v}.

[72] Knapp, 'Elizabethan Tobacco', p. 31; Mancall, 'Tales Tobacco Told', sec. 36.

beverages, with Wine chiding him that 'you make men children agen, for they that vse you most familiarly, do but smoake all the day long'. When Tobacco replies that this statement dishonours him Wine retorts, 'Not somuch as Gentlemen dishonour themselues, to turne common pipers'.[73] Another explanation for tobacco's popularity is the particular effects that smoking had on the body aside from the obvious appeal of its panacea-like status to physicians and patients alike, namely its ability to prevent hunger and thirst, and to induce intoxication.

In 1505 the Florentine navigator Amerigo Vespucci, the first European to publish his observation of Amerindian tobacco use, identified chewing its leaves as an effective method of providing nourishment:

> While we were walking along the beach with [the tribe] and talking, meantime desiring to have a drink of fresh water, they, intimating by signs that they were entirely without it, of their own accord offered us some of the herb and the flour which they held in their mouths, and we realised that it was because the country lacked water, and in order to allay thirst, they were keeping the herb and flour in their mouth.[74]

Monardes identified this 'flour' as powdered burnt cockle shells and reiterated the belief that ingesting the concoction staved off hunger and thirst for several days through retaining natural heat in the stomach when swallowed.[75] Others writing in the 1560s and 1570s also recognized the Native Americans' use of tobacco to prevent hunger and thirst including Sparke[76], De Lobel[77], and Chute, who noted, 'that which is more strange than the world wold credit, [is that] the inhabitants of *Florida* often nourish themselues four or fiue daies together by the smoke, neither eating nor drinking any thing whatsoeuer'.[78] Despite his incredulity Europeans testified to tobacco's ability to nourish, with Beaumont noting in his *Metamorphosis of Tobacco* (to take just one example) that it 'suppress the heate of raging thirst' and 'makes the hungrie soules forget their wants'.[79] Following

[73] Gallobelgicus, *Wine, Beere, Ale and Tobacco Contending for Superiority* (London: T[homas] C[otes] for John Grove, 1630), fol. D^{v}.

[74] Dickson, *Panacea or Precious Bane*, p. 11.

[75] Monardes, *Ioyfull newes*, fol. 41^{r-v}.

[76] Floridians were seen to smoke because it 'satisfieth their hunger, and therewith they liue foure or fiue dayes without meat or drinke' (Dickson, *Panacea or Precious Bane*, p. 129).

[77] 'In this way they say that their hunger and thirst are allayed' (Dickson, *Panacea or Precious Bane*, p. 44).

[78] Chute, *Tabacco*, p. 45.

[79] Beaumont, *Metamorphosis of Tabacco*, fols F^{r} and E^{v}.

Monardes the English writer Hugh Plat in his *Sundrie New and Artificiall Remedies against Famine* from 1596 advocated chewing 'little balles of the iuice of the hearbe Tabaco, and the ashes of cockleshels wrought vp together [... for suppressing both] hunger and thirst for the space of three or foure daies'.[80] Chewing tobacco had obvious attraction for the lower social classes looking for a way to alleviate the effects of famine, particularly as sufficiently cheap imports and unregulated domestic cultivation (albeit on a very small scale) made the plant relatively affordable in the years before James VI and I put an end to both in England.

A related consideration is the intoxication that tobacco was seen to induce if taken in sufficient quantities, which became a significant factor in the increasing dissent over the extent of its use in the early seventeenth century. Goodman has noted the importance of contextualizing the European reception of tobacco within a culture in which hallucinatory experiences were commonly induced either by 'the regimen of poverty' or by association with witchcraft.[81] Early reports of Amerindian ceremonies by explorers clearly showed its use as a narcotic to facilitate communication with the spirit world. Peter Martyr typified their understanding that the stupor induced by tobacco played an important part in indigenous ritualistic practice:

> Wherfore, as often as the kynges aske counsaile of their zemes [idols] as concerning their warres, increase of fruites or scarsnes, or health and sickenes, they enter into the house dedicate[d] to theyr zemes, where, snuffinge vp into theyr nosethryls the pouder of the herbe cauled Cohobbd (wherwith [they] are dryuen into a furye) they say immediatly they see the houses turne topsy turuye, and men to walke with theyr heeles vpwarde: of suche force is this pouder vtterly to take away all sense. As soone as this maddenes ceaseth, he embraseth his knees with his armes, holdynge downe his heade. And whe[n] he hath remayned thus a whyle astonysshed, he lyfteth vp his heade as one that came newe owt of sleepe; And thus loking vp towarde heauen, fyrst he fumbeleth certeyne confounded woordes with hym selfe.[82]

It has been acknowledged that in all likelihood the nicotine content of sixteenth-century tobacco 'was many times greater than that of present-day commercial species and varieties, and that it was capable, by itself, of inducing hallucinations'.[83] Amerindians probably smoked this more potent form in large quantities, and the

[80] Dickson, *Panacea or Precious Bane*, p. 98.

[81] Goodman, *Tobacco in History*, pp. 42–43.

[82] Martyr, *The decades of the newe worlde*, fol. 46^{r-v}.

[83] Goodman, *Tobacco in History*, p. 25.

combination of smoking with ritualistic music and dancing could induce a trance-like state. They also most likely consumed other herbs that were psychoactive which early Spanish observers and modern scholars alike have mistaken for tobacco or mixed it with other substances to increase potency.[84]

It has already been shown that tobacco's association with ungodly practices made some Europeans denounce its use by Christians as unseemly. Plenty were sufficiently intrigued to experiment, however. The experience reported by the German-Swiss naturalist Konrad Gesner in 1565 typified the effects reported by physicians and botanists who first experimented with tobacco: '[W]hen I only tasted it, chewing and not swallowing a small piece, [it] had a remarkable effect on me, so that I seemed very drunk, and because of the dizziness it caused, to be floating down a river on a ship.'[85] The intoxication produced by tobacco was instinctively likened to the effects of inebriation caused by alcohol, a substance which provided ready comparison. Indeed, Europeans initially described the practice of taking tobacco as 'drinking', which itself reflects the novelty with which the plant was regarded.[86] Tobacco's potential to intoxicate attracted condemnation from moralists, with immoderate consumption denounced as a 'branch of the sinne of drunkennesse'.[87] It was also regarded by some as a threat to the productive capacity of the workforce, with Nicholas Breton in *The Good and the Badde; or, Descriptions of the Worthies, and Unworthies of this Age* categorizing the tobacco taker as an 'effeminate foole' who would rather lie in bed than go to work.[88] An act of 1604 imposing a tax on tobacco imports was aimed at preventing the health of the workforce from becoming 'impayred, and theire Bodies weakened and made unfit for Labor'.[89] While the act targeted labourers, smoking was enjoyed by all social classes with one German visitor noting during his visit to London in 1598 that at bull baiting, bear whipping, and 'everywhere

[84] Robicsek, 'Ritual Smoking in Central America', p. 35.

[85] Dickson, *Panacea or Precious Bane*, p. 70.

[86] Mancall, 'Tales Tobacco Told', sec. 8.

[87] James VI and I, *Counterblaste*, fol. C3^{v}.

[88] Mancall, 'Tales Tobacco Told', sec. 37. King James believed that taking tobacco made the smoker 'as a drousie, lazie belly-god, [who might] euanish in a Lethargie'; James VI and I, *Counterblaste*, fol. C3^{v}. Conversely, it should be noted that for many observers another of tobacco's perceived attributes was its ability 'to take awaie the wearines', as noted by Monardes, *Ioyfull newes*, fol. 40^{r}.

[89] Larry Harrison, 'Tobacco Battered and the Pipes Shattered: A Note on the Fate of the First British Campaign against Tobacco Smoking', *Addiction*, 81 (1986), 553–58 (p. 555).

else, the English are constantly smoking the nicotian weed'.[90] In relative terms smoking was still in its infancy and the extent of its use amongst Europeans during the sixteenth century must not be overstated. It is quite likely that tobacco was regarded as being smoked 'everywhere' by commentators still getting accustomed to the novelty of the act.

Nevertheless, it seems clear that smoking was becoming more popular with every passing decade. Tobacco's ability to induce feelings of relaxation likened to inebriation contributed to its increasingly recreational use throughout Europe, as the act of smoking became habitual rather than strictly medicinal. As a medicine physicians intended tobacco to be taken only under medical supervision and the debate over its efficacy that ensued in the early seventeenth century, particularly in England, focused on the dangers that many contributors believed to be inherent in its immoderate and unregulated use, 'since euerie extreme vertue is a vice'.[91] If tobacco was consumed sensibly and under professional medical direction the smoker would be assured of the integral therapeutic value attached to the plant that had provided the impetus for its original importation into Europe from the New World. The potential it offered as a medicine underpinned the context in which it was first scrutinized by physicians and botanists who were sponsored by wealthy patrons with an eye on commercial profit, and its successful cultural translation to the Old World was arguably dependent on its ability to be negotiated a place in a recognized framework of medical understanding based on its perceived therapeutic properties.[92]

The reception of tobacco within Europe must be studied in accordance with its status as 'a cultural hybrid' with a 'transcultural background'.[93] Tobacco was seen to embody the very process of cultural encounter in Chute's explanation of Jean Nicot's role in the drug's nomenclature:

> When the Greekes, Romans, & others, trauailing to India or other places, wher they found plants, vnknown cities, or lands, they vsually gaue them their owne names, to remaine in memory to posterity that such an one had done his common wealth that seruice.[94]

[90] Harrison, 'Tobacco Battered', p. 554.

[91] Chute, *Tabacco*, p. 4.

[92] Mancall, 'Tales Tobacco Told', sec. 36, notes that tobacco's victorious reception within Europe was partly attributable to 'market forces (the profits to those who sold it)'.

[93] Schülting, 'Tobacco — Sacred and Profane', p. 196.

[94] Chute, *Tabacco*, p. 23.

As this essay has shown through its analysis of contemporary responses, tobacco's transition from the New World to the Old was remarkably successful. Crucially, it proved popular because it was accessible and appealing to many within society, from physicians and patients who seized upon its therapeutic value, to poorer classes seeking nourishment, and smokers from all walks of life enjoying the conviviality and 'joyous intoxication' it offered.[95] Its seductive addictiveness and novel exoticism combined to make tobacco a plant — a drug — that was 'as much desired as it was wondered at' by Europeans.[96] By inverting tobacco's ungodly origins, and by renegotiating pre-Conquest assumptions about the therapeutic potential of smoke and the limits of known *materia medica*, the Old World learned to encounter and embrace a New World commodity whose place in its cultures had, within the space of a century, been assured.

[95] According to Matthias De Lobel; Dickson, *Panacea or Precious Bane*, p. 44.

[96] Chute, *Tabacco*, p. 29.

Humouring Racial Encounters in the Anglo-Atlantic, *c.* 1580–1720

Mark S. Dawson

In the early 1620s, accounts of Plymouth's foundation reported settlers unearthing human remains. Since the skull 'had fine yellow haire still on it, and some of the flesh unconsumed', the body was thought that of 'an *Indian* Lord and King'.[1] It is unlikely this description was a marvel, which attracted with its novelty yet repelled with its incomprehensibility. For the report's metropolitan, English readers were familiar with similar revelations of their own. They may already have encountered this description of a socially pretentious woman who unsuccessfully masked her truer, humbler colours:

> Shee, in a glasse, that sees her *Sorrell* haire,
> And straight will put it to the *Painters* die,
> And then doth thinke that shee is wondrous faire.[2]

These observations assumed that a person's pedigree was betrayed by the body. Those of elite status naturally incorporated signs of superiority like vivid blonde hair, whilst a meaner physical appearance, which might include dull red hair, indicated plebeian origins.

This rationale was a cultural commonplace, often remarked by those seeking to know how the early modern English apprehended the non-European peoples they met when traversing the Atlantic.[3] However, this essay digs deeper

[1] William Bradford, *A Relation or Journall of the Beginning and Proceedings of the English Plantation Setled at Plimouth* (London: I. Bellamie, 1622), pp. 11–12.

[2] Nicholas Breton, *Pasqvils Fooles-Cap* (London: T. Iohnes, 1600), fol. B4^{r}.

[3] For instance, Joyce Chaplin, *Subject Matter: Technology, the Body, and Science on the Anglo-American Frontier, 1500–1676* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2001), p. 135; Karen

to reconstruct a fuller understanding of this rationale's workings and to explain its consequences for later, modern notions of race. Reconstruction proceeds in four stages. First, the essay offers an anatomy of the bodily signs that English travellers commonly used to make status discriminations amongst unfamiliar populations. These identifications were consistent with metropolitan practice of physiognomy. Second, the impetus for these distinctions was a belief in the body's humoral nature. Humoral physiology has been underestimated. The humoral episteme did indeed support notions of innate, enduring physical difference (though this is not to claim it *always* did so — such a claim, like its negative counterpart in current historiography, would overstate the consistency and unanimity of early modern thinking about human variation). Third, the interconnection of physiology and outward appearance with social status implies that perceptions of embodied inequality were precursive to racial attitudes, especially the projection of superiority as 'whiteness'. If the early modern era was not free of a systematic bodily bias, then the fourth and final stage is to reassess our understanding of the transition toward modern racial perceptions.

Status Markers

Early modern England's social hierarchy rested on distinctions of birth. Despite contradictions hinting at rearrangement according to wealth (class), society persistently recognized status inequalities; emphasized division between a well-born, genteel minority and meanly born majority of plebeian heritage.[4] This status hierarchy was made manifest by numerous status symbols (attire, address, gesture, etc.), yet, given its basis in lineage, it was inevitable such symbols should include

Kupperman, *Indians and English: Facing Off in Early America* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2000), pp. 15, 234–35; Ania Loomba, *Shakespeare, Race, and Colonialism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), p. 7; Melanie Perreault, *Early English Encounters in Russia, West Africa, and the Americas, 1530–1614* (Lampeter: Mellen, 2004), pp. 145–46, 216; Gary Taylor, *Buying Whiteness: Race, Culture, and Identity from Columbus to Hip-Hop* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), pp. 163–211.

[4] We must be careful distinguishing class from status. Two essays that do just that, and give consideration to the equation of early modern European bodies with status, are Margo Hendricks, '"Obscured by Dreams": Race, Empire, and Shakespeare's *A Midsummer Night's Dream*', *Shakespeare Quarterly*, 47 (1996), 37–60; Guillaume Aubert, '"The Blood of France": Race and Purity of Blood in the French Atlantic World', *William and Mary Quarterly*, 61 (2004), 439–78.

physical markers too.[5] These markers were believed to comprise height, shade and texture of hair and skin, proportion of face and limbs; all signs providing the basis for the discipline of physiognomy. Physiognomy was popularly considered capable of interpreting bodily form as disclosure of one's social character, physical well-being, and the state of one's mind.[6] Physiognomy constituted a bodily semiotics in which the early modern English were well versed.

The practice of domestic discrimination between well- versus meanly born English bodies was transferred into the Atlantic world. As Anglo-Atlantic voyagers frequently assumed that similar distinctions of status, namely those of blood lineage, were at work in the otherwise alien societies they encountered, so, in mutually reinforcing and often misconceived ways, foreign physiques were expected to bear natural witness to these same differences. Historians have demonstrated that making the strange familiar by way of analogy was a common mental manoeuvre of the era.[7] Travel narratives from the later sixteenth through early eighteenth centuries evaluated native Americans and Africans on the basis of perceiving physiognomic signs analogous to those witnessed at home.

Leading natives were expected to be of above-average height. Upon Francis Drake's 1578 landing in Nova Albion, 'goodly stature' and ability to stride with a 'princely Majestie' convinced his crew that they were meeting with the 'king himself ', a man followed at a distance by a 'naked common sort of people'.[8] George

[5] See Mark Dawson, *Gentility and the Comic Theatre of Late Stuart London* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), pp. 164–82, and Mark Dawson, '"Cast thy humble slough, and appeare fresh": Reappraising the Advent of Early Modern English Whiteness, *c.*1600–1750', in *Historicising Whiteness: Transnational Perspectives on the Construction of an Identity*, ed. by Leigh Boucher, Jane Carey, and Katherine Ellinghaus (Melbourne: RMIT and Melbourne University Press, 2007), 355–62, which finds resonances with Gail Paster's account of the early modern passions, *Humoring the Body: Emotions and the Shakespearean Stage* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2004), pp. 125–29, 213–35.

[6] Pertinent for demonstrating that physiognomy was not just a fad of the later eighteenth century is Martin Porter, *Windows of the Soul: The Art of Physiognomy in European Culture, 1470–1780* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005).

[7] John Elliott, *The Old World and the New, 1492–1650* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970); Anthony Pagden, *The Fall of Natural Man: The American Indian and the Origins of Comparative Ethnology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982); Anthony Grafton (with April Shelford and Nancy Siraisi), *New Worlds, Ancient Texts: The Power of Tradition and the Shock of Discovery* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap, 1992); *America in European Consciousness, 1493–1750*, ed. by Karen Kupperman (Chapel Hill: North Carolina University Press, 1995).

[8] Richard Hakluyt, *The Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation*, 12 vols (London: G. Bishop, R. Newberie, and R. Barker, 1598–1600; repr.

Percy, scion of a noble family, elided corporal with sociopolitical distinctions when he inferred that a Virginian tribe 'of little stature [...] and very rude' was (deservedly) subject to the great Powhatan, ruler of numerous Algonquin peoples.[9] A century later, narrating his trek through northern Carolina, John Lawson recalled 'young *Indian* Women, the tallest that ever we saw in this Country; which we suppos'd to be the King's Daughters, or Persons of Distinction amongst them'.[10] Conversely, another early eighteenth-century account, of voyaging around the South American coast, exudes confidence that it has dispelled the myth of the 'giant' Patagonians even though its author could not claim to have seen these legendary people in a tribal group: 'I had a sight of two, one whereof was a *Cacique*, who came from the Southward of the river of *St. Domingo*, who seemed to me to differ little or not at all from the *Chilenians* as to their persons.'[11] George Shelvocke reasoned if a single cacique (loosely, 'chief') was no loftier than the leaders of neighbouring tribes, it was absurd to believe his own subjects were all head-and-shoulders above him.

As well as the colour, length, and smoothness of hair already mentioned, skin tones too, texture and pigment, were frequent considerations. Sometimes, expectations of an embodied eliteness worked in favour of those under the watchful eye of English travellers. Certain locals were damned with faint praise, reflecting the assumption that at least the semblance of particular somatic signals was passable evidence of their elevated birth; their genteel origins endorsed by a finer physiognomy. William Dampier, the late seventeenth-century circumnavigator, found his way through strange societies by presuming an inherent social superiority made for a universally discriminatory body language. When describing the Portuguese and African inhabitants of Cape Verde he conceded 'they were all very swarthy. The Governor was the clearest of them, yet of a dark tawny Complexion.'[12] Dampier was not alone in thinking that lustrous and lighter or,

Glasgow: J. MacLehose, 1903–05), IX, 322–23. For similar assumptions among other European explorers see ibid., IX, 190; Samuel Purchas, *Hakluytus Posthumus or Purchas his Pilgrimes*, 20 vols (London: William Stansby for Henrie Fetherstone, 1625; repr. Glasgow: J. MacLehose, 1905–07), II, 71 and 98; III, 328.

[9] *Purchas his Pilgrimes*, XVIII, 429.

[10] John Lawson, *A New Voyage to Carolina* (London: [n. pub.], 1709), p. 71.

[11] George Shelvocke, *A Voyage Round the World* (London: J. Senex, 1726), p. 107.

[12] William Dampier, *A New Voyage Round the World*, ed. by Giles Milton (London: Hummingbird, 1998), p. 45. Likewise, Henry Norwood's description, from 1649, of a Portuguese noblewoman he met on Tenerife, in *A Collection of Voyages and Travels, Some Now First Printed*

contrarily, deeper and vivid complexions were signs of native, inherent social superiority. Aphra Behn's contemporary, novelistic portrait of a Coramantien, Oroonoko, insisted he was no rustic:

> He was pretty tall, but of a Shape the most exact that can be fansy'd: The most famous Statuary cou'd not form the Figure of a Man more admirably turn'd from Head to Foot. His Face was not of that brown, rusty Black which most of that Nation are, but a perfect Ebony, or polish'd Jett. His Eyes were the most awful that cou'd be seen, and very piercing; the White of 'em being like Snow, as were his Teeth. His Nose was rising and Roman, instead of African and flat. His Mouth, the finest shap'd that cou'd be seen; far from those great turn'd Lips, which are so natural to the rest of the Negroes. The whole Proportion and Air of his Face was so noble, and exactly form'd, that, bating his Colour, there cou'd be nothing in Nature more beautiful, agreeable and handsome. There was no one Grace wanting, that bears the Standard of true Beauty: His Hair came down to his Shoulders.[13]

To suggest, as Joyce MacDonald does, that Behn artificially 'Europeanized' her subject for aesthetic effect blurs modern with seventeenth-century views and misses older ways of discerning captured by her representation.[14] Behn related the tragedy of a princely hero from western Africa, describing a suitably foreign but familiarly elite body in the process. Thus, Oroonoko's aspect was gentry-*fied* in accordance with European norms of what an elite body should naturally be.

These last observations underscore that the embodiment of relative social status included ever-finer particulars. Thinner lips, a high forehead, a narrow-bridged nose, or eyes of a particular hue could encourage recognition of superiority or, conversely, its absence. Traces of this absence are harder to recover, as they were censored by social prejudice itself. Local common folk were precisely that and did not often warrant explicit mention. Occasionally, however, we are in luck. For example, when detailing a late sixteenth-century excursion to Guiana, Laurence Keymis recalled how 'an Indian came unto us with lean cheekes, thinne haire, and a squint eye'. Taken together, these features 'gave him to bee suspected' as without standing in native society and a rascally liar.[15]

from Original Manuscripts [...] (London: printed by assignment from Messrs. Churchill for John Walthoe and others, 1732), VI, 147.

[13] Aphra Behn, *Oroonoko; or, The Royal Slave* (London: W. Canning, 1688), pp. 20–21. A later echo of this kind of description may be found in *A History of the Voyages and Travels of Capt. Nathaniel Uring* (London: printed by W. Wilkins for J. Peele, 1726), pp. 40–41.

[14] Joyce MacDonald, *Women and Race in Early Modern Texts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 111–12.

[15] Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, X, 466.

Reviewing the Humoral Episteme

Physical distinctions were made comparatively. The English discriminated amongst themselves at home, and, when abroad in the Atlantic, differentiated between and within native populations, implicitly using their own personal features as one point of reference in a process we might call the somatic triangulation of social status. An English observer judged himself distinct from an Algonquin of eastern North America but both, in turn, might be relatively different from the chiefly Powhatan depending on each man's perceived lineage. Yet questions linger. Even among the English alone such comparisons relied upon some kind of standard. How was soft, blonde hair thought better than thicker, red hair? By what measure might someone's nose be judged 'Roman'? Why did the body retain indelible indications of its pedigree that were allegedly there for all to see?

Answers lie with the prevailing physiological episteme of the day. Drawing on classical sources, indirectly Hippocrates yet quintessentially Galen, this episteme considered the human body's vitality composed not living cells but fluids in dynamic combination, comprising the four humours of blood (sanguine), phlegm, choler (yellow bile), and melancholy (black bile).[16] Each humour had an elemental correspondence, respectively air, water, fire, or earth. Hence the sanguine was warm and moist; phlegm, cold and moist; choler, warm and dry; melancholy, cold and dry.

Over time, this episteme's integrity was challenged by physicians and natural philosophers. Those accepting its basic rationale held rival opinions on its exact implications, especially therapeutic.[17] Yet modern characterization of the humoral episteme has relied on select reference to a certain side of this contest. Other aspects are ignored, especially its popularity *cum* relative perdurability.[18] Because of its capaciousness, humoral physiology had a pervasive influence on how early modern people commonly understood bodily variation, culturally predisposing them to construe physical appearances in certain ways.[19]

[16] For a survey of intellectual connections between ancient and early modern physical discriminations, see Benjamin Isaac, *The Invention of Racism in Classical Antiquity* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004), pp. 55–168.

[17] Andrew Wear, *Knowledge and Practice in English Medicine, 1550–1680* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000); Laura Gowing, *Common Bodies: Women, Touch and Power in Seventeenth-Century England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003), pp. 17–51; Roy Porter, *Flesh in the Age of Reason* (London: Allen Lane, 2003), pp. 44–61, 244–56.

[18] Compare Taylor, *Buying*, pp. 73–95, 259–302.

[19] Speaking to the prevalence of humoralism are John Henry, 'Doctors and Healers: Popular Culture and the Medical Profession', in *Science, Culture and Popular Belief in Renaissance Europe*,

Examination of popular medical literature, vernacular publications which often appeared in multiple editions across our period, goes far in explaining how and why the foregoing discriminations were not only possible but logical. Common understandings of humoral physiology credited a circular correlation between the body, social status, and appearance. One's physiognomy indicated the humoral dynamic at work within, as well as declared one's pedigree; those of a particular pedigree had a certain physiology made manifest by their visible features.

There is a crucial reason for keeping such correlation in mind: namely, that so many texts took it for granted. It was second nature to observers and therefore did not require articulation. To find someone described as 'flaxen'-haired seems so innocent as to be inevitable; to read of skin as having 'colour' obviously implies a tone other than fair, English, or white. Yet things were not so obvious or innocent when viewed from within the humoral episteme. Pale-yellow hair and tawny skin tones had both social ramifications and physiological significance that early moderns took as read. By recognizing the contemporary values assigned to bodily features according to the logic of the humoral episteme, we can better appreciate what lay beneath the seemingly neutral nomination of such things as 'sorrell' hair or 'turn'd' lips.

This appreciation requires that we revise current scholarly characterizations of the humoral episteme and its operation in the Atlantic world.[20] A substantial

ed. by Stephen Pumfrey and others (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1991), pp. 191–221; Brian Nance, 'Determining the Patient's Temperament: An Excursion into Seventeenth-Century Medical Semeiology', *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, 67 (1993), 417–38; Gail Paster, *The Body Embarrassed: Drama and the Disciplines of Shame in Early Modern England* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993); Louise Curth, 'The Medical Content of English Almanacs', *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences*, 60 (2005), 255–82; Wendy Churchill, 'The Medical Practice of the Sexed Body: Women, Men, and Disease in Britain, circa 1600–1740', *Social History of Medicine*, 18 (2005), 3–22; Angus Gowland, 'The Problem of Early Modern Melancholy', *Past & Present*, 191 (2006), 77–120; Deborah Harkness, '*Nosce Teipsum*: Curiosity, the Humoural Body and the Culture of Therapeutics in Late Sixteenth- and Early Seventeenth-Century England', in *Curiosity and Wonder from the Renaissance to Enlightenment*, ed. by Robert Evans and Alexander Marr (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), pp. 171–92; Susan Parrish, *American Curiosity: Cultures of Natural History in the Colonial British Atlantic World* (Chapel Hill: North Carolina University Press, 2006), pp. 77–102.

[20] Joyce Chaplin's *Subject Matter* (cf. pp. 116–56) has been instrumental in bringing renewed attention to bear on the humoral body in the early modern Atlantic. What follows concurs with Chaplin's observations that the episteme was contested and the shift to modern racism slow. However, the present essay endeavours to highlight significant strains of opinion suggesting that

corpus of early modern opinion held that the humoral body was not entirely variable; neither always divisible into one of four humoral types, nor completely at the mercy of foreign climes.[21]

Everyone was believed to possess a specific combination of humours. This combination was known as one's 'temperature', 'constitution', 'inclination', 'denomination', 'temperament', or 'complexion', and established physical characteristics and mental propensities for life.[22] Humoral balance was apparent and virtually fixed from the moment a person entered the world.[23] While it might be

humoral variation was socially essential and generational; that human diversity was not necessarily thought geographically situational or superficial.

[21] This 'revisionist' view of popular humoralism finds support in work on medieval bodily identifications, Valentin Groebner, '*Complexio*/Complexion: Categorizing Individual Natures, 1250–1600', in *The Moral Authority of Nature*, ed. by Lorraine Daston and Fernando Vidal (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2004), pp. 365–69. Its stress on the contradictory, contested nature of explanations for human variation also agrees with the recent study of Jonathan Schorsch, *Jews and Blacks in the Early Modern World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), especially pp. 17–49.

[22] Respectively Anon., *The Key to Unknowne Knowledge* (London: printed by Adam Islip for Edward White, 1599), p. 20; Thomas Tryon, *The Way to Health, Long Life and Happiness* (London: printed and sold by A. Sowle, 1683), p. 338, and Tobias Venner, *Via Recta ad Vitam Longam*, 4th edn (London: printed [by T. R.] for Abel Roper, 1620; 1660), p. 237; Bartolommeo Cocles (attributed), *The Contemplation of Mankind, Contayning a Singuler Discourse after the Art of Phisiognomie*, trans. by Thomas Hill, 2nd edn (London: Henry Denham for William Seres, 1571) (first publ. 1556), fol. 1^{r}, and Richard Saunders, *Physiognomie* (London: printed by H. Brugis, for Nathaniel Brook, 1671), p. 263; Thomas Elyot, *The Castell of Health Corrected and in Some Places Augmented*, 2nd edn (London: Thomas Marshe, 1576) (first publ. 1541), fol. 2^{r}; Levinus Lemnius, *The Touchstone of Complexions*, trans. by Thomas Newton (London: Thomas Marsh, 1565; repr. 1581), fols 1^{r} and 6^{r}; Marin Cureau de La Chambre, *The Art How to Know Men*, trans. by John Davies (London: printed by T. R. for Thomas Dring, 1665), p. 54; [T. T.], *A Rich Treasure, The Knowledge Whereof is Useful, Profitable, Pleasant and Delightful* (London: Printed for Geo. Conyers, 1698), p. 7.

[23] The partial but telling exception was breast-feeding. Elite parents were warned to avoid the plebeian nurse in case she passed elements of her complexion onto the infant, implying such transmission would be detractive of the child's originally superior complexion. See, as part of the literature discussed here, Thomas Moffett, *Healths Improvement* (London: printed by T. Newcomb for S. Thomson, 1655), pp. 121–22, 126, and compare Rachel Trubowitz, '"Nourish-Milke": Breast Feeding and the Crisis of Englishness, 1600–1660', *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, 99 (2000), 29–49. The influence of the midwife, on the other hand, was less ambiguous. Caroline Bicks, *Midwiving Subjects in Shakespeare's England* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003), pp. 94–126, highlights how the midwife could 'massage' the physiognomy so as to give *false* indications of the infant's natal temperament.

possible to allay the likely effects of one's constitution (e.g., resisting particular emotions with prayer or inhibiting certain behaviours by choice of food), one could not hope to alter permanently the complexion with which one was born.[24] Such an attempt would be unnatural; lead only to imbalance. Alteration in complexion was assuredly negative; read as evidence of temporary crisis wrought by sickness or ageing decline and approaching morbidity. Similarly, aspirations to bodily perfection were relative. Positive aspects of one's body could be accentuated, but only within the parameters already established by one's innate complexion.[25]

Bodily flux was both a normal and abnormal physical state. On the one hand, to stay healthy, an individual's body continually needed the same quantities and qualities of humours to make the overall combination which had sustained its being from the beginning. On the other hand, over- and under-production, or irregularity in combination, caused corruption and disease. Lack of balance brought pain and illness if not counteracted. So, in several respects, it is misleading to write that the early modern body was perceived to be in a 'continual state of imbalance'.[26] First, we need to think in plural terms. Different people had different bodies normally sustained by different balances. Second, balance was relative rather than absolute. There was little understanding of a perfect (post-lapsarian) physiological state where the humours were either quantitatively or qualitatively equal to one another. Third, while individuals' complexions were forever prone to misalignment, survival meant perpetuating their original humoral state, maintaining a balance that was in one sense peculiar to them. One person's healthy complexion, their natural balancing act as it were, could therefore resemble another's unhealthy imbalance. Fourth, while even the healthiest of bodies required a relative dis-equilibrium, there was a widespread belief that it was better to have one type of complexion rather than another.

Medical authorities insisted most people's humoral bias should not be considered singularly sanguineous, choleric, phlegmatic, or melancholic. They thought in terms of combinations. Nine, and perhaps as many as sixteen, compoundings

[24] Heikki Mikkeli, *Hygiene in the Early Modern Medical Tradition* (Helsinki: Finnish Academy of Science and Letters, 1999), pp. 18–32.

[25] Constant personal monitoring is underscored by Margaret Pelling (with Francis White), *Medical Conflicts in Early Modern London: Patronage, Physicians, and Irregular Practitioners, 1550–1640* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2003), pp. 225–74.

[26] Compare Chaplin, *Subject Matter*, p. 120; also Loomba, *Shakespeare, Race, and Colonialism*, p. 54, as the most recent literary study to rely on the conclusion that the humoral body's constant flux retarded the advent of racial ideas.

were credited.[27] The humoral tabulation of human variety did not end here. For one thing, sexual difference had to be considered. Though it was axiomatic that men were relatively dry and hot compared to women, who were moist and cold, not all females were absolutely phlegmatic nor all males distinctly choleric.[28] Multiple degrees and qualities of each humour allowed for a gendered similarity. Two and sometimes as many as five increments were numbered or described consecutively.[29] Hence certain types of English men and women might share a sanguine-melancholic complexion but to third and first degrees respectively. Bodily changes wrought by age could be explained as a relative shift in the quality or intensity of one's original disposition, so too with disease. One might be predominantly, naturally, and healthily choleric, only to have the quality of this humour temporarily corrupted due to 'adustion' or 'putrefaction' (its overheating or stagnation within the body).

While complexions were thought to take their lead from the environment, this was not the same as believing that a shift in location produced a corresponding and permanent change in one's *native* constitution. It was a commonplace that the world was divided into climatic zones, with each region encouraging a particular humour. If continental Europe was encompassed by a temperate zone which prompted sanguinity, then a northerly zone was frigid and phlegmatic, whilst southerly zones were hotter and therefore produced relatively choleric or melancholic temperaments. English cosmographers situated their nation in the favourable, temperate zone; came to consider themselves fundamentally sanguine;

[27] For statements and diagnoses to this effect, see Cocles, *Contemplation of Mankind*, fol. 103^{v}; Lemnius, *Touchstone of Complexions*, fol. 32$^{r–v}$; Elyot, *Castell of Health*, fols 70^{v}–71^{r}; John Fage, *Speculum Aegrotorum: The Sick-Mens Glasse*, 2nd edn (London: printed for W. Lugger, 1638) (first publ. 1606), p. 52; Nicholas Culpeper, *Galen's Art of Physick*, 2nd edn (London: printed by J. Streater, and sold by J. Wright, 1671) (first publ. 1652), pp. 46–67; Chambre, *Art How to Know Men*, p. 217; Venner, *Via Recta*, p. 285; Tryon, *Way to Health*, p. 10.

[28] Zirka Filipczak, *Hot Dry Men, Cold Wet Women: The Theory of Humors in Western European Art, 1575–1700* (New York: American Federation of Arts, 1997), pp. 16–19. Compare Chaplin, *Subject Matter*, p. 121; Mary Floyd-Wilson, *English Ethnicity and Race in Early Modern Drama* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), p. 41.

[29] Andrew Boord, *The Breviarie of Health*, 2nd edn (London: Thomas Este, 1598) (first publ. 1552), fols 32^{v}, 56^{r}, 78^{v}, 101^{v} (for an anatomy of choler, phlegm, melancholy, blood, and then compare, for example, how different types of each humour were held as causes of various fevers, fols 53–54); Lemnius, *Touchstone of Complexions*, fols 91^{r}, 115^{v}, 127^{v}, 136^{v}; James Manning, *Complexions Castle* (Cambridge: Iohn Legat, 1604), p. 19; Chambre, *Art How to Know Men*, pp. 20, 65; Venner, *Via Recta*, p. 154; John Pechey, *The Store-house of Physical Practice* (London: Henry Bonwicke, 1695), p. 194.

left behind their formerly northern (that is, phlegmatic) temperament to identify with many other Europeans who had claims on being approximately sanguine.[30]

Yet, because of the role of smaller geographic factors within particular zones, there was more to the environmental orientation of one's complexion. No one has drawn the logical conclusions that must have been so obvious to early moderns that they typically went unsaid. The *multifaceted* nature of complexions were only partly explained by global zoning. For our basically sanguine English, lesser variables ensured that those born in the same country on the same day were neither simply nor equally sanguine. These variables could include the local landscape (was it marshy and damp or elevated and windswept?), the season (was it a particularly harsh winter or an average autumn?), and the conjunction of the other planets (was Mars or the Sun in the ascendant, as each encouraged a different degree of choler?).[31] Domestic treatises on physiology which seem to speak in terms of an individual's melancholic complexion, for example, should more accurately be said to describe a *sanguine* (because English)-melancholic temperament.

Complexion was not entirely the product of impersonal, cosmological forces. Parentage was the single most critical vector in what might be termed the qualification of one's natural humoral balance, or, in other words, the variation on a shared English sanguinity. Whilst writers were fairly quiet on the issues of how or why parental complexions were inherited, treatises explaining the generation of sons or daughters offer some indirect hints because, as we have seen, sexual difference had a humoral foundation. By weighing-up factors like time of day, their moods, what they had eaten, coital position, and their respective ages and ancestry, mothers and fathers could tip the balance in favour of girls or boys.[32]

Ambiguity surrounded the mechanisms of inheritance: were the complexional outcomes restricted to a mixing of the normal temperaments of the couple, just as theirs had been by their own parents? However, this ambiguity did not prohibit

[30] Floyd-Wilson, *English Ethnicity and Race*, pp. 1–47.

[31] Factors considered by William Vaughan, *The Newlanders Cure* (London: imprinted by Nicholas Okes for F. Constable, 1630), p. 6; Chambre, *Art How to Know Men*, p. 39; Saunders, *Physiognomie*, pp. 169–71. See also Anthony Grafton, 'Geniture Collections, Origins and Uses of a Genre', in *Books and the Sciences in History*, ed. by Marina Frasca-Spada and Nick Jardine (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 49–68.

[32] Gail Paster, 'The Unbearable Coldness of Female Being: Women's Imperfection and the Humoral Economy', *English Literary Renaissance*, 28 (1998), 416–40; Patricia Crawford, *Blood, Bodies, and Families in Early Modern England* (Harlow: Pearson, 2004), pp. 113–39.

belief in some sort of generational transmission.[33] The influence of different types of food or sexual comportment, for instance, implied that prospective parents who were normally phlegmatic might offset this tendency in favour of a certain masculine choler by eating meats deemed hot and dry before bedtime and ensuring that the normally warmer male assumed a dextrous position between the sheets. In this way, conception might be influenced by a short-lived humoral imbalance in the parents, such that the assumed phlegmatic disposition of the (male) child would be moderated. Even so, there was, equally, teleology; attributing one's complexion to a pedigree always somehow reliant on parental actions and physiologies.[34] Continuity of place, in terms of nation and social status, predisposed a person to a certain complexion, which itself constricted the range of possible variation in their descendants.[35]

What has been estimated an endless maze of environmental variables was really nothing of the kind for early modern Europeans wishing to sustain their own versions of healthy bodies. Their original complexions predetermined paths through this maze, paths that people strayed from at their peril. To demonstrate, let us examine how diet was thought to impact physiology. People would naturally prefer foods of complexion comparable to their very own. A balanced meal involved assimilating aliments consisting of, or stimulating, humoral qualities and combinations conducive to the maintenance of one's native constitution.[36] Most cuts of beef, for example, were typically deemed gross-melancholic in temperature and, as a result, favoured by English men and women of like temperament. The

[33] Compare Chaplin, *Subject Matter*, p. 193.

[34] Lemnius, *Touchstone of Complexions*, fols 26^{r}–27^{v}; Helkiah Crooke, *Mikrokosmographia; or, A Description of the Body of Man*, 2nd edn (London: printed by W. Jaggard, 1616) (first publ. 1615), pp. 308–11. This thinking did, of course, find analogies with animal husbandry. See, for example, Jim Endersby, *A Guinea Pig's History of Biology* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2007), pp. 17–21.

[35] Compare Chaplin, *Subject Matter*, p. 117 versus p. 122.

[36] Moffett, *Healths Improvement*, p. 265; and even the iconoclastic Walter Charleton, *The Natural History of Nutrition, Life, and Voluntary Motion* (London: printed for Henry Herringman, 1659), p. 3; Everard Maynwaringe, *Vita Sana et Longa* (London: printed by J. D., 1669), pp. 14, 52–67. For a general review of this thinking, Ken Albala, *Eating Right in the Renaissance* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2002); appearing too late to be considered at greater length see also Robert Appelbaum, *Aguecheek's Beef, Belch's Hiccup, and Other Gastronomic Interjections: Literature, Culture, and Food among the Early Moderns* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2006), 1–65; 201–86. The humoral temperature of foods could be qualified by their (re)combination; see Jack Turner, *Spice: The History of a Temptation* (New York: Knopf, 2004), pp. 106–28, 158–74.

cruder humours of beef that would do more harm than good to other types of complexion were considered requisite for strenuous or 'robustick' labour. In other words, working bodies, especially those belonging to mariners and the 'agrestick', would find this meat wholesome because, according to a circuitous logic, it would replenish their naturally melancholic physiologies.[37]

The tendency of English settlers to hunger amidst plenty suggests that most had an understanding of humoralism.[38] Wandering in the 'wilderness' and plucking unfamiliar 'meats' along the way was considered corporally risky in ways that we today would not comprehend if we thought merely in terms of venomous reptiles or poisonous berries. Awareness that colonists would have to adapt to a new land was not equivalent to an anticipation that the different surroundings would inevitably inscribe enduring, viable (in the sense of liveable, healthy) change on their bodies. Different weather patterns or strange flora were expected to cause temporary disruptions in one's natural humoral balance, yet the challenge was learning how to counteract or avoid these shifts altogether.[39] It was a question of ascertaining how to interact with the local circumstances so as to sustain one's original constitution. Think of an individual's native set of humours as forming a cog. Moved to a new locale, made up of its own combination of the same elements, a colonist had to make humours and environment mesh together. Actively trying to retool one's complexion, or blithely allowing the environmental cog to grind away in an opposite direction, were distinctly unhealthy options. The scenario of English-born explorers morphing into the humoral equivalents of Americans, living to tell the tale, and therefore wearing down signs of an enduring bodily otherness, was neither a common nor singular conceit.[40]

[37] Venner, *Via Recta*, compare pp. 27, 68–69, 74, 82, 192, 231, 246. See too Allen Grieco, 'The Social Politics of Pre-Linnaean Botanical Classification', *I Tatti Studies*, 4 (1991), 131–49; Keith Thomas, *Man and the Natural World: Changing Attitudes in England, 1500–1800* (London: Allen Lane, 1983), pp. 55–61.

[38] Trudy Eden, '"Makes Like, Makes Unlike": Food, Health, and Identity in the Early Chesapeake' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Johns Hopkins University, 1999), pp. 126–62.

[39] For an extensive example of how a colonist apprehended a new environment by way of analogy and realized why climate might unbalance native complexions, see Nathaniel Butler, 'The Historye of the Bermudaes or Sommer Islands' (*c.* 1609–22), London, British Library, Sloane MSS 750 (digital facs., *Adam Mathews-Empire Online*, <http://www.amdigital.co.uk/collections/Empire-Online/Default.aspx> [accessed March 2005]), fols 1–7, 33, and 56. Recent work by Joan Thirsk provides some fascinating domestic examples of the same mentality in action, *Food in Early Modern England: Phases, Fads, Fashions, 1500–1760* (London: Continuum, 2007), pp. 67, 196.

[40] Compare Chaplin, *Subject Matter*, p. 135; Kupperman, *Facing*, pp. 58–59. Most likely the 'startling' case Kupperman cites was just so because its subject was still standing.

Whitening Gentility

All bodies were believed to express humoral dispositions, themselves indicative of past origin, present condition, and future character. If, as suggested, nationality encouraged an English sanguinity, age and sex the degree of humoral intensity, then social status determined the rest, perhaps qualifying an individual's complexion as sanguine-melancholic in the first degree.

Seventeenth-century English people were accustomed to judging each other in ways that presaged later racial typing. The humours themselves were socially valorized and thus formed a hierarchy believed to generate complementary contrasts in bodily features. Conversely, these features were read as evidence of internal complexion and pedigree. We can venture that the sanguine humour was almost universally considered the best to possess, whilst melancholy was the worst. This left phlegm and choler in a kind of limbo, though a survey of medical treatises suggests choler returned more negative assessments.[41] It is little surprise to find correspondence with the social hierarchy, the genteelly born being considered mostly sanguine and the meanly extracted labouring poor mainly inclined to the melancholic.

When assessing a person's temperament, colour was a primary sign to look for. Modern denials notwithstanding, skin tone presumed certain traits of particular people (and vice versa).[42] The hue of one's hair and eye colour could also come into play when assigning humoral type. Of course, colour had the troublesome tendency to be affected by complexional imbalance. In that event, the proportional signs of one's constitution became equally essential. A person's stature, the texture of their hair and skin, the size and/or shape of their eyes, nose, and lips, all figured an original, underlying humoral inclination.

Authorities concurred that a sanguine disposition was manifested by a smooth, fair skin (i.e., mainly white but with ruddiness and full, blue veins); by a tall but well-fleshed profile; by long, straight hair (with some debate on the best hue).[43] There was less agreement when reading smaller facial traits or the contours of individual limbs. Sometimes the same features were taken to have different mean-

[41] Thomas Walkington, *The Optick Glasse of Humors*, 2nd edn (London: printed for G. Dawson, 1664) (first publ. 1607), p. 118; T. T., *Rich Treasure*, pp. 5–6.

[42] Compare Chaplin, *Subject Matter*, p. 164.

[43] Manning, *Complexion's Castle*, p. 10; Saunders, *Physiognomie*, pp. 186–88. For a survey of the significance of hair colour, see too Boord, *Breviarie*, fol. 25. Typically genteel shades were a brown-auburn and yellow-blonde, but notice that these were allegedly distinguishable from a plebeian red or flaxen.

ings, depending on, first, the complexion already approximated from one's colour and overall silhouette, and, second, their precise combination. A relatively high forehead and smaller lips might serve as further confirmation of sanguine tendencies.[44] The dominance of other, grosser humours nipped and tucked at this ideal. For instance, both choler and melancholy darkened the skin and encouraged shorter, more curly hair of varied shades — typically shades deemed pale, dull, dirty, or, commonly, red — but tended to produce contrasts in height (respectively, shorter or taller when compared with the sanguine 'medium'). Additional correspondences might be seen in leaner or wider visages.[45] Phlegm, meanwhile, had the effect of stunting and broadening bodily proportions as well as causing a pallid skin.[46]

Inasmuch as genteel, well-born English individuals believed themselves superior in stature, with brighter eyes, manes of fine hair, and fair skin, it became a self-fulfilling prophecy that elite men and women were the most sanguine of their sanguine nation.[47] Observe the socially loaded metaphors describing a sanguineous state. It was 'noble', or the 'paragon of Complexions, the Prince of all Temperaments' which 'herald[ed]' a 'vertuous mind'.[48] As a consequence, English society learned to perceive 'whiteness' as a signifier of elite identity before it identified itself as universally white, a nation of 'whites'. We should not infer that the gentry thought or called themselves white. Rather, they were inclined to consider themselves relatively *whiter* as part of a somatics of social superiority which included skin colour but was not always defined solely by this.[49] Genteel whiteness

[44] Respectively, Cocles, *Contemplation of Mankind*, fols 29^{v}–39^{r} and 119^{v}–125^{r}; Johannes Indagine, *The Book of Palmestry and Physiognomy*, trans. by Fabian Withers, 7th edn (London: printed by J. R. for T. Passinger, 1683) (earlier translations date from the late sixteenth century), sig.[G7$^{r–v}$].

[45] [Nicholas de La Framboisière], *An Easy Method to Know the Causes and Signs of the Humour Most Ruleth in the Body and to Avoid Thereby Things Hurtful* (London[?]: [n. pub.], 1640), p. 3; Manning, *Complexion's Castle*, pp. 24–28; Marc de Vulson, *The Court of Curiositie,* trans. by [J. G.] (London: printed by J. C. for William Crooke, 1669), pp. 147–49; Saunders, Physiognomie, p. 188.

[46] Framboisière, *Easy Method*, p. 7; Manning, *Complexion's Castle*, p. 18; Walkington, *Optick Glasse*, p. 124.

[47] For example, Venner, *Via Recta*, p. 257.

[48] Charleton, *Natural History of Nutrition*, pp. 38 and 52; Walkington, *Optick Glasse*, pp. 111 and 155. Here the present essay broadly agrees with Alexandra Shepard, *Meanings of Manhood in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), pp. 47–69.

[49] A consideration suggested by Alastair Bonnett, *White Identities: Historical and International Perspectives* (Harlow: Prentice Hall, 2000), pp. 1–24; Roxann Wheeler, *The Complexion*

was a subset of an overarching, elite sanguinity which, incidentally, extended as much to gentlemen as gentlewomen.[50] If, for much of the early modern period, we cannot say that the process of discerning bodily difference was exclusively and definitively coloured it was certainly and variously humoured, humoured in a way that made these differences seem part of the course of nature.

If the English were generally sanguine, inhabitants of other lands should be basically other-than-sanguinely-humoured. A foreign population should exhibit a complexional diversity already familiar to the English, only on a larger scale and to a greater degree than at home. What were secondary tendencies explicative of smaller variations in an otherwise English appearance and character, for example the (sanguine)-choleric, would become definitive traits of another, choleric non-European people which explained their different bodies and correspondingly accentuated behaviours.

Some travellers and commentators saw what they expected to see. In the wake of the 1622 Jamestown massacre, Edward Waterhouse expressed chagrin that settlers had underestimated the 'different humours of these people'. If it was not immediately evident that Waterhouse was as much damning European migrants for ignoring the telltale signs visible in both the bodies and actions of the Algonquian natives as he was the treachery of 'these people' themselves, he then glossed the assessment of Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo y Valdés, the early sixteenth-century chronicler of Spain's American empire:

> I will acquaint you with his observation and judgement of the nature and disposition of the *Indians* there, that you may compare and see in what, and how farre, it agrees with that of the Natives of VIRGINIA. They are (saith hee) by nature sloathfull and idle, vitious, melancholy, slovenly, of bad conditions, lyers, of small memory, of no constancy or trust.[51]

Similarly with John Josselyn's observations of Massachusetts tribes:

> Of disposition very inconstant, crafty, timorous, quick of apprehension, and very ingenious, soon angry, and so malicious that they seldom forget an injury, and barbarously cruel, witness their direful revenges upon one another. Prone to injurious violence and

of Race: Categories of Difference in Eighteenth-Century British Culture (Philadelphia: Pennsylvania University Press, 2000), pp. 74–80.

[50] Early modern stress on white skin tones has often been explained in terms of femininity. Whilst gender was important it cannot serve as a total explanation. Compare Kim F. Hall, *Things of Darkness: Economies of Race and Gender in Early Modern England* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995); Taylor, *Buying*, pp. 36–50.

[51] E. Waterhouse, *A Declaration of the State of the Colony and Affaires in Virginia* (London: G. Eld for R. Mylbourne, 1622), pp. 25 and 30.

> slaughter, by reason of their bloud dryed up with overmuch fire, very lecherous proceeding from choller adust and melancholy, a salt and sharp humour; very fingurative or theevish, and bold importunate beggars, both Men and Women guilty of Misoxenie or hatred to strangers, a quality appropriated to the old Brittains, all of them Cannibals, eaters of humane flesh.[52]

Josselyn's assessment of their character was guided by his impressions of their bodies, particularly what he saw as their lean faces with flat noses, the blackness of their eyes and hair, and the possibility of chronic ill-health.[53]

The foregoing remarks should not imply that the English all saw the same physiognomic contrasts, much less took the same measure of them.[54] Smaller discrepancies are apparent despite the basic similarity of the Waterhouse and Josselyn accounts, for instance. Yet this was only natural. For qualifications within the American complexion could be expected, just as they were among the English themselves. We must not assume anyone's complexional balance could be reduced to a single dominating humour or, consequently, that the humoral distance between all Americans and all English was considered perfectly alike. The comment of Philip Vincent on the Connecticut Pequots, that a proclivity to choler made them 'terrible to their neighbours, and troublesome to the *English*', is one instance of such acute distinction.[55] Even when there might be agreement that Americans as a loose grouping were predominantly choleric, Pequot warriors were considered aggressive because their individual constitutions were, apparently, the accentuated archetype of an otherwise shared constitutional tendency.

[52] J. Josselyn, *An Account of Two Voyages to New England*, 2nd edn (London: printed for G. Widdowes, 1675) (first publ. 1674), pp. 124–25. K. O. Kupperman, 'Angells in America', in *Writing Race Across the Atlantic World*, ed. by Philip Beidler and Gary Taylor (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), pp. 27–50, describes the 'doubleness of vision' (p. 42) at work here. On the one hand, this vision allowed many educated English colonial commentators to liken their ancient British ancestors to Native Americans and praise shared virtues. On the other, it allowed these same commentators to play up other aspects of their ancestry (Roman or Germanic) so as to justify colonization of a fundamentally different people.

[53] References to adustion and choler could imply that Josselyn perceived an abiding humoral ill-balance amongst local Native Americans, which might then have explained susceptibility to disease. For eyes, see Indagine, *Book of Palmestry*, sig. [G6^{v}]; for melancholic leanness, etc., Framboisière, *Easy Method*, p. 6; for noses, Cocles, *Contemplation of Mankind*, fols 92^{v}–109^{r}.

[54] Compare Chaplin, *Subject Matter*, p. 244 (otherwise cites Waterhouse) versus pp. 256 and 271–72.

[55] Philip Vincent, *A True Relation of the Late Battell Fought in New England, between the English, and the Salvages* (London: printed by M[armaduke] P[arsons] for Nathanael Butter, and Iohn Bellamie, 1637), sig. B2^{r}.

By extension, tribes bordering the Pequots were perceived to have countervailing humours which precluded them from being as fierce.

English voyagers often made these finer discriminations with reference to already-familiar status markers. If, in the mind of many an English adventurer, a legitimately powerful individual was meant to be larger than life, have smoother and fairer skin, a plentiful scalp of straight hair of a certain shade, and a particularly proportioned countenance, then in many cases he could be persuaded this was what he saw when in the presence of rulers or nobles who could also be expected to behave in certain ways. The English abroad had a habit of resorting to domestic somatics. They deemed local notables the best complexioned, the closest native embodiment of the sanguine, even though the entire nation might be considered generally choleric, melancholic, or phlegmatic. To see the sheer endurance and scope of this way of thinking and seeing, we can turn to Edward Barlow's assessment of Norwegians in 1675:

> The people are large and well grown people, their women fair and clear, and generally indifferent civil to strangers, but the country people are homely and clownish, with little or no good breeding, and most of the right country-bred are of a flaxen or reddish hair.[56]

Barlow's impression of the inhabitants of Bergen, people on the margin of Europe, wavered between a northern, thick-set phlegmaticism and the inevitable fairness of a European sanguinity. However, he knew for certain both a plebeian and choleric rusticity when he saw it — the distinctive shades of bodily thatch were a give-away.[57]

English venturers were acculturated to the view that one's social place ('degree', 'quality') was inscribed throughout the body by the coursing of a particular balance of humours. Granted, contemporaries themselves sometimes recognized material conditions encouraging the semblance of corporeal contrast.[58] However, just as many aspects of difference were conjectural, that is, subjectively marked according to powerful fictions of somatic bias rather than objectively present and verifiable.

[56] Barlow's *Journal of his Life at Sea in King's Ships, East & West Indiamen & Other Merchantmen from 1659 to 1703*, ed. by Basil Lubbock, 2 vols (London: Hurst and Blackett, 1934), I, 256. See too Gilbert Burnet, *Some Letters, Containing an Account of What Seem'd Most Remarkable in Travelling thro' Switzerland, Italy, Some Parts of Germany, &c.* (London: printed for J. Lacy, 1724), p. 149.

[57] For example, Framboisière, *Easy Method*, p. 3; Walkington, *Optick Glasse*, p. 109.

[58] Fynes Moryson not only donned shabby clothes but darkened his skin in order to pass as a plebeian traveller of little interest to mercenaries in his journey through the Low Countries, *Itinerary* (London: J. Beale, 1617), pt I, 37–38.

The more humbly born the individual, the cruder was the conjectured complexion and, likely, the darker (or shorter, or more crooked, dumpy, and curly) the perceived bodily indices of this allegedly native inferiority. Grumbling about commoners being permitted by James I to assume honours customarily the preserve of the well-born, Philip Gawdy imagined these plebeians among nobles as dismal, diseased heads of grain protruding in a field of fair, flourishing wheat:

> Ther wer a number of worthy and very choyse knightes made uppon that great day, but with them (*lyke cockle amongst good corne*) a skumm of suche as it wolde make a man sycke to thinke of them. I haue heard yor countryes of Norfolke, and Suffolke taxes, that ther wer Sheapreves, yomans sonns knighted, I cann assuer you ther ar other countryes ar not behynde them in that, and dyvers pedlers sonns of London haue receyved the same order, amongst the rest Thimblethorpe the attorney that was called nimblechappes full of the pox was knighted for seven pounde tenn Shillings. Captayne Burnell, and Grims my Lo. of Sussex his man had but bad fortune, for they wer bothe thrust out of the rome by the heade and Shoulders, and so lost their earnest penny.[59]

We cannot be certain whether these upstarts had relatively dark or poor complexions (i.e., skins). If we assumed they did and postulated a causal explanation, say in terms of the deficiency of a plebeian diet which was heavily reliant on coarser grains, we would still have only half the story.[60] In Gawdy's mind the situation was as much reversed. For he visualized brazen bodies as symptomatic of mean birth *cum* plebeian constitutions. Unconsciously, he may also have been encouraged in this impression by a shimmering of courtly cosmetics which helped present elite bodies in the best, whiter light.

Upon meeting with contrasting skin tone when abroad, English travellers were prone to think this a ready indicator of grosser humoral complexion. Darker colour was initially taken as favouring a humbler constitution, one inherently and always already both liable and suited to subordination. Further consideration might be lent signs such as hair texture, facial proportion, or height in order to

[59] Philip Gawdy to his brother, early August 1603, *Letters of Philip Gawdy of West Harling, Norfolk, and of London to Various Members of his Family, 1579–1616*, ed. by Isaac Jeayes (London: J. B. Nichols, 1906), p. 135. Emphasis added. 'Cockle' named both a plant and disease found in wheat fields. Each resulted in a mottle colour of purplish-black (*OED*).

[60] Some have suggested imbalances, and toxic adulterations, in the commoner's diet manifested as scurvy, ergotism, or pellagra and numbered chronic shades of livid and blackened skin among their symptoms. See Piero Camporesi, *Bread of Dreams: Food and Fantasy in Early Modern Europe*, trans. by David Gentilcore (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1989); Mary Matossian, *Poisons of the Past: Molds, Epidemics, and History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989).

assess the exact humoral balance and its probable ramifications for social positioning relative to observers and the local society as a whole. An elaborate, humorally backed bias drove the perception that the majority of the foreign peoples encountered by the English could, to varying degrees, be treated with condescension and would be fit for some form of exploitation because their perceived resemblance to domestic plebeians dictated as much. Recall that *The Tempest*'s celebrated contrast of the domestic indigent with the exotic indigene — 'when they will not give a doit to relieve a lame Begger, they will lay out ten to see a dead Indian' — turns on their somatic *likeness*. Trinculo, stumbling upon Caliban, contemplates how a cosmetic name-change will outwit the 'holiday-foole' who pays willingly for an outlandish, monstrous spectacle but refuses charity to a humble, homeless compatriot.[61] Similarly, at the terminus of our period of interest comes the tale of a Caribbean castaway. Survival depended on marriage to a native woman and reference to dislike for the complexion of his 'tawney Rib' seems, at first, unpleasant evidence that racism has reached critical mass in the New World. That is, until we read about the groom accepting his new wife with both an analogy and very old home-truth about status *mésalliance*, '*Joan's as good as my Lady in the Dark*'.[62] As one cannot discern the differences between the bodies of a domestic servant (Joan) and her genteel mistress at night, so in the American hammock the castaway need not be apprehensive of the inferior features of his non-European wife that are visible in the daytime. In other words, the gentleman would prefer a well-born English wife but, if needs must, the commoner or native American, equally humble, will do.

Status as Race

This last example raises the vexed issue of how these early modern status discriminations relate to modern racial perceptions. Were they, in fact, the same thing? Arguably, yes and no.[63] Race relies on corporeal diversity, contrasts in physical appearance. Although race may appear to do no more than name the obvious, to

[61] William Shakespeare, *The Tempest* (London: printed for Isaac Iaggard and Edward Blount, 1623), II.2.9.

[62] William Chetwood, *The Voyages, Dangerous Adventures and Imminent Escapes of Captain Richard Falconer* (London: printed for W. Chetwood and others, 1720), p. 142; original italics.

[63] What follows finds itself in accord with reassessment of whether the early modern English viewed Irish contemporaries in racial ways, D. J. Baker, '"Men to Monsters": Civility, Barbarism, and "Race" in Early Modern Ireland', in *Writing Race* (see n. 52, above), pp. 153–69.

annunciate the most natural of distinctions, it is in fact entirely relative, certainly arbitrary, and often imaginary. This is because people have rival answers concerning two sets of questions. First, how to assess physical difference in terms of kind or degree. Is a broad forehead more important than fair hair in establishing difference? And by what measure is a forehead to be deemed 'high' or hair suitably 'blonde'? Second, what meaning does this perceived contrast carry? For instance, the significance of hair colour might diverge between cultures and this will predispose people to recognize and evaluate corporeal variations according to different sociocultural imperatives. Therefore, race involves plural mental processes and often-conflicting perceptions, not enduring physical contrasts that speak for themselves. Race is, then, a process: the grouping of people according to perceived physical contrasts, contrasts which are believed to mark discrete, innate, inherited differences between these groups in terms of their physical aptitude, intellectual ability, and/or moral competence. If race relies on identification and interpretation, then a plurality of cultural frameworks for its perception — racisms — can also be expected across space and time.[64] This essay concludes that humoral physiognomics was such a framework for the early modern English. Height, facial proportion, hair colour, shape of members, and skin tone were its main nodes.

The prevailing argument that these features of the humoral body were considered temporary and thus incapable of sustaining patterns of durable bodily bias, an 'unchanging hierarchy' of inequality, cannot be sustained.[65] On numerous occasions, though never all, early moderns held to a divergent understanding of the humoral body which allowed that body to be read for signs of essential

[64] For race as a cultural construction, Alain Corcos, *The Myth of Human Races* (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 1997); Michael Banton, *Racial Theories*, 2nd edn (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998); Audrey Smedley, *Race in North America: Origin and Evolution of a Worldview*, 2nd edn (Boulder: Westview, 1999); also the colloquia in *William and Mary Quarterly*, 54 (1997); *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies*, 31 (2001).

[65] Influential in the formation of this closing argument have been David Goldberg, *Racist Culture: Philosophy and the Politics of Meaning* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1993), pp. 24–29; Colette Guillaumin, *Racism, Sexism, Power, and Ideology* (London: Routledge, 1995), pp. 40–49; Smedley, *Race*, pp. 1–12; George Fredrickson, *Racism: A Short History* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002), pp. 151–70; Nicholas Hudson, 'From "Nation" to "Race": The Origin of Racial Classification in Eighteenth-Century Thought', *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 29 (1996), 247–64; Ernst Mayr, *The Growth of Biological Thought: Diversity, Evolution, Inheritance* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap, 1982), pp. 629–42; Peter Wade, *Race, Nature and Culture: An Anthropological Perspective* (London: Pluto, 2002), pp. 37–68; David Skinner, 'Racialized Futures: Biologism and the Changing Politics of Identity', *Social Studies of Science*, 36 (2006), 459–88.

difference. The humoral episteme conditioned an influential field of perception for the recognition and interpretation, the sighting as it were, of bodily contrasts and embodied inequalities. The humoral episteme had a function and social consequence, status discrimination, which foreshadowed the role and implication of its eventual successor: an organic episteme and an outcome of racial denigration.[66] As a field of knowledge, biological science has had a similarly ambiguous role in supporting the notion that some are naturally better than others, whilst simultaneously denying that this notion is itself artificial, a cultural construction of social power. What we think of as 'race', many early moderns thought of as 'status'. Each was the outcome of its own time's processing of corporeal differentiation and attendant inequality.

However, the cultural frameworks supporting the perception of such difference were not templates of one another. Modern perceptions of 'race', at least those prevalent in the West, rely on a framework where skin tones are the primary nodes. The organic episteme may also underpin these nodes with a complex understanding of generational inheritance. Historians therefore assert correctly that, for much of the early modern era, people did not think of, or discriminate between, whole populations as 'white(s)', 'black(s)', 'red(s)', and so on.[67]

Yet in histories of the Anglo-Atlantic world there remains a tendency to imply that this modern racial mind-set was an innovation; to infer that racial perceptions were initiated within colonial societies around the later seventeenth century *ex nihilo*. For three reasons, the transition was more intricate than sometimes acknowledged. First, the period prior to the rise of race as we now know it was not lacking a systematic bodily bias of its own. Second, the rise of modern racism was as much a cultural transition fuelled by social change occurring at the metropolitan centre as a novel formation produced on the distant shores of empire. Third, the transition to modern race and racism from the later seventeenth century did not involve skin being invested with a brand-new significance. What happened was that other, customary bodily signs lost a good deal of their relative importance and meaning, whilst skin gained more of each. Gary Taylor's linguistic genealogy of whiteness, of how, among the discriminating English, skin gained both importance and singular ascription as 'white', provides fresh understanding of this shift over the course of the seventeenth century.[68] However, we have still

[66] As well as titles mentioned above, see David Bindman, *Ape to Apollo: Aesthetics and the Idea of Race in the 18th Century* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2002).

[67] Ivan Hannaford, *Race: The History of an Idea in the West* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996), provides the handiest summation of this issue.

[68] Taylor, *Buying*. See also n. 3, above.

to explain why signs like 'sorrell' hair faded from view; how a broader, traditional bodily prejudice was pared down to the recognizably modern worth of skin colour alone. Demonstrating that this worth came to be described as 'white' is one thing, explaining the significance and legacy of older precursive values, terms like 'sanguine', is quite another.

This transition involved a remodulation of somatics; rationales for making bodies signify changing social disparities. We have to chart how everything *but* skin colour was 'bated' and explain why high foreheads and polished complexions were discounted, in favour of a monotonous singling out of 'white' or 'black', when discerning difference. This discounting was gradual. Humoral physiognomics was not, for instance, suddenly overturned by the shock of discovering darker skin tones in northern, 'phlegmatic' latitudes; complexions that could only be explained by scientific revolutionaries. Nor was it sidelined deliberately; simply to ensure a European solidarity amidst expropriation of non-European labour. The humoral episteme was resilient. Partly this was because of the episteme's flexibility and its extension beyond the inscription of skin with a particular quality. This endurance was due also to a vested interest which demands attention, namely, the domination of genteel elites throughout the Anglo-Atlantic world.

Hermaphrodites in the New World: Gabriel de Foigny and *Terra Incognita Australis*

Nicholas Keene

Of the many tales told of encounters between the Old and the New World in early modern Europe, few were quite as extraordinary as that published in 1676 by a defrocked Franciscan monk by the name of Gabriel de Foigny entitled *La Terre australe connue* (The Southern Land, Known). A work of utopian, or dystopian, satire, that imaginatively borrowed from and mimicked published accounts of voyages of discovery, Foigny's tale of a young hermaphrodite, Nicolas Sadeur, shipwrecked off the coast of Australia, who discovers a land populated entirely by bi-sexed creatures like himself, was a powerful critique of the religious, political, and social mores of seventeenth-century European society. A philosophically sophisticated and reflective voyage of the imagination, many of the themes explored in Foigny's work, particularly religion and man's relationship with God, sex, and gender relations, and the quality of and access to education, would feature prominently in intellectual discourse in the courts, academies, salons, journals, and newspapers of eighteenth-century Europe.[1]

Foigny's text challenged the self-confident discourse of early Enlightenment Europe, perhaps nowhere more evident than in regard to the discovery of the New World, where travellers displayed in equal measure an assurance in the ordained superiority of European culture and a curious disdain for the intellectually and morally inferior races about to be civilized. Stephen Greenblatt has described how

[1] [Gabriel de Foigny], *La Terre australe connue* (Vannes [Geneva]: [n. pub.], 1676). All quotations in this essay are taken from Gabriel de Foigny, *The Southern Land, Known*, ed. and trans. by David Fausett (New York: Syracuse University Press, 1993).

Europeans who ventured to the New World were equipped with a sophisticated 'mobile technology of power' in the form of literacy, ships, and navigational instruments, armour, and gunpowder, that almost invariably lent them an aura of superiority over the peoples they encountered. Foigny's hermaphroditic hero would find that his sense of cultural superiority was based on foundations of sand.[2]

Born into a Catholic family in the Picardy region of France around 1630, Foigny's life was nearly as turbulent as that of his bi-sexed adventurer. Expelled in 1666 from the Observant Franciscan order, for transgressions probably related to his later known fondness for female company, Foigny exchanged one set of religious strictures for another, not only embracing Protestantism but settling in the home of Calvinism, Geneva, where it seems that doubts were always entertained about the depths of his newly proclaimed convictions. Conflict soon ensued between the former monk and Geneva's twin guardians of religious orthodoxy, the pastors who constituted the Venerable Company, and the elders and pastors who made up the Consistory, the court of ecclesiastical discipline that regulated the religious practices of the people in the self-proclaimed New Jerusalem. These two bodies would come to haunt Foigny, doggedly pursuing him for an array of alleged misdemeanours ranging from the retention of papist tendencies to usury, and from consorting with disreputable women to drunken vomiting on the communion table. Eventually, Foigny would claim that they drove him back into the fold of the Catholic Church. One of the arenas in which Foigny chose to play out his battle with the authorities was on the printed page. In 1676, he deliberately flouted the censors and published his *magnum opus* anonymously and without authorization. Despite his persistent prevarication and elaborate lies, Foigny was identified as the author and censured for putting out immoral and irreligious material. His story of Australian adventure hit too close to home.[3]

Few places, real or imagined, excited the early modern European imagination more than *terra incognita australis*, the legendary southern continent. Educated Europeans, drawing upon ancient Greek knowledge, had always appreciated that the world was not flat, and belief in a southern landmass to counterbalance that

[2] Stephen Greenblatt, *Marvelous Possessions: The Wonder of the New World* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991), p. 9.

[3] Foigny, *The Southern Land Known*, pp. xviii–xxix; Marie Louise Berneri, *Journey through Utopia* (London: Freedom Press, 1982), p. 186; Glenn Negley and John Max Patrick, *The Quest for Utopia: An Anthology of Imaginary Societies* (College Park: McGrath, 1971), p. 400.

of the northern hemisphere was well-established by early Christian times.[4] The first-century CE Greek scholar Pomponius Mela placed the southern continent on the other side of an impassable burning zone, whilst the second-century Egyptian astronomer Claudius Ptolemy, regarded as the pre-eminent authority by early modern cartographers, believed that it joined southern Africa to form a vast continent enclosing the Indian Ocean. This land soon took on attractive qualities; the account of China recounted by Marco Polo, at a time of Tartar supremacy and an Islamic renaissance, spoke of a land many readers identified as the southern continent filled with gold and other rare treasures.[5]

Tales of the voyages of intrepid explorers in the Pacific, driven by love of God, gold, or adventure, became part of the staple diet of a burgeoning European reading public. *Terra australis* was as strange and wonderful a place as the moon, a land in which the sea monsters and unicorns of natural history books might plausibly roam. Foigny demonstrated a familiarity with published accounts of travel literature in the region, as well as a broader reading of medieval cosmographies like *Imago mundi*, the adventures of Marco Polo, and utopian texts. Foigny may have read Thomas Artus's *L'Isle des hermaphrodites* (1605), an earlier imaginary voyage with hermaphroditic overtones, and he probably knew the writings of the Parisian free-thinker, poet, and duellist Cyrano de Bergerac, whose depiction of journeys to the moon and sun were influenced by the Assyrian-Roman satirist Lucian of Samosata and had a strong rationalistic streak running through them.[6] The English republican Henry Neville's *The Isle of Pines*, a brief and somewhat titillating account of shipwreck and adventure, translated into French, replete with sexual libertinism and a dark, dystopian undercurrent, may have crossed his path. He may also have known of the recent publication, in London in 1675, of the first part of the French Hugenot Denis Veiras's *The History of the Sevarites or Sevarambi*, with the first three parts of the story published in French in 1677. Veiras told the story of a fantastic shipwreck off the coast of *terra australis* and his work contained elements subversive of established religion.[7]

[4] Glyndwr Williams and Alan Frost, '*Terra Australis*: Theory and Speculation', in *Terra Australis to Australia*, ed. by Williams and Frost (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, in association with the Australian Academy of the Humanities, 1988), p. 1.

[5] John Cawte Beaglehole, *The Exploration of the Pacific* (Stanford: Black, 1966), p. 6.

[6] Foigny, *The Southern Land, Known*, p. xxx; Cyrano de Bergerac, *Histoire comique des états et empires de la Lune et du Soleil* (Paris: Delagrave, 1886); Lucian, *Works*, trans. by Austin Morris Harmon, 8 vols (London: Heinemann, 1927).

[7] Henry Neville, *The Isle of Pines; or, A Late Discovery of a Fourth Island in Terra Australis, Incognita* (London: printed by S. G. for Allen Banks and Charles Hooper, 1668). Neville's tale

The search for the supposedly gold-strewn lands of *terra australis* proved to be a protracted and competitive one, in which the Portuguese, Spanish, Dutch, and English all played a prominent role at different times. As with most voyages of discovery in the early modern period, much of what was looked for was never found and a great deal of what was found was come across by accident. Fortune, for the explorers as for Sadeur, was a demanding mistress. The Portuguese, the most advanced sea-faring European nation in the fifteenth century under Prince Henry the Navigator, led the way, reaching Japan by 1542 and settling in Timor and New Guinea. Like their Spanish neighbours, the Portuguese shrouded their exploratory activities in a veil of secrecy, so effectively that it remains a vexed question for historians as to whether or not Portuguese navigators actually discovered Australia in the 1520s.[8]

By the mid-sixteenth century, the Spanish had taken the lead. In 1568 Álvaro de Mendaña de Neira, under commission from his uncle, the Viceroy of Peru, discovered the Solomon Islands, as they would soon become known.[9] In 1595 Mendaña led an ill-fated expedition to colonize *terra australis*, dying during the expedition, leaving Pedro Fernández de Quirós, a Portuguese-born pilot, to lead the survivors back. In 1605, with the blessing of the Spanish king and Pope Clement VIII to incorporate *terra australis* into the Spanish dominions and its inhabitants into the Mother Church, Quirós set out to succeed where his former commander had failed. Thousands of miles off course, he got no further than the New Hebrides, which he mistook for the great continent. His attempts to found a New Jerusalem foundered on a combination of hostile Melanesian locals, an outbreak of malaria, and his own personal shortcomings. An account of his journey was published in Latin and French. Despite years of supplicating at the royal court, and promises of delivering a kingdom the size of Europe and Asia

about an Elizabethan adventurer, George Pine, who, finding himself shipwrecked off an island off *terra incognita australis* with four young women, proceeded to engage in carnal relations with the nubile ladies successively on a continually rotating basis producing, over the course of some forty years, more than five hundred offspring, was a minor sensation. Worthington Chauncey Ford, *The Isle of Pines, 1668: An Essay in Bibliography* (Boston: The Club of Odd Volumes, 1920); Alfred Owen Aldridge, 'Polygamy in Early Fiction: Henry Neville and Denis Veiras', *PMLA*, 65 (1950), 464–72; Denis Veiras, *The History of the Sevarambians: A Utopian Novel*, ed. by John Christian Laursen and Cyrus Masroori (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2006).

[8] Helen Wallis has weighed the evidence and decided in favour of Portuguese discovery; see Wallis, 'Java la Grande: The Enigma of the Dieppe Maps', in *Terra Australis to Australia* (see n. 4, above), pp. 39–82.

[9] Williams and Frost, '*Terra Australis*', p. 9.

combined, brimming with treasures and spices, Quirós was denied another opportunity to lay claim to this earthly paradise and died frustrated in 1614.[10]

From the early seventeenth century it was the Dutch, in the form of the formidable and enterprising East India Company (VOC), who took over the hunt and dispatched the first Europeans definitely to make landfall on Australian soil. In 1606 Willem Jansz, commanding the *Duyffken*, entered the Gulf of Carpentaria and came ashore on the western side of Cape York, then known as Nova Guinea. His first contact with the Aborigines, like many subsequent ones, was a bloody affair. Several members of his crew were slain by 'savage, cruel, black barbarians', according to the instructions later given by the Company to Abel Tasman.[11] In 1623, Jan Carstensz, captaining the *Pera*, sailed further south down the Gulf of Carpentaria. He similarly found the 'coal-black and stark naked' natives 'with twisted nets round their heads', to be 'the most wretched and poorest creatures as I have ever seen in my age or time'. He saw enough to be convinced that he was setting foot on 'the most arid and barren region that could be found anywhere on the earth', devoid of any fruit-bearing trees and precious woods or metals. He captured one of the implacably hostile natives in order to provide his paymasters with information about the land and customs of its inhabitants.[12] The Dutch were also the first Europeans to experience living in Australia, albeit unwillingly, when the *Batavia* under the command of François Pelsaert was shipwrecked on the Abrolhos Islands off the coast of western Australia in 1629. Whilst Pelsaert went for help in the pinnace, the surviving crew feuded and over a hundred were killed before his return.[13]

In August 1642 Abel Tasman set out, under orders from Governor General Anthonie van Diemen, to seek out the riches of the southern and eastern lands of the Pacific, or at least find useful trade routes that would benefit the VOC. In November he reached the western coast of present-day Tasmania, naming it after

[10] Berneri, *Journey through Utopia*, p. 190; Foigny, *The Southern Land, Known*, pp. 3–4; Charles Manning Hope Clark, *A History of Australia* (Parkville: Melbourne University Press, 1962), pp. 14–19; Clements Markham, *The Voyages of Pedro Fernández de Quirós, 1595–1606* (London: Hakluyt Society, 1904).

[11] Günter Schilder, 'New Holland: The Dutch Discoveries', in *Terra Australis to Australia* (see n. 4, above), pp. 83–116; Tim Flannery, *The Explorers: Stories of Discovery and Adventure from the Australian Frontier* (Melbourne: Text Publishing, 1998), p. 17.

[12] Flannery, *The Explorers*, pp. 18, 19, 20.

[13] Flannery, *The Explorers*, pp. 21–23; David Fausett, *Writing the New World: Imaginary Voyages and Utopias of the Great Southern Land* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1993), pp. 25–27.

his governor, which he explored without encountering the local Aborigines. His men saw trees cut with notches at five-feet intervals to aid climbing, suggesting that the island was inhabited by people of extraordinary stature or equipped with some kind of climbing tool.[14] Tasman then headed east, making landfall on the west coast of New Zealand's South Island, resulting in a bloody encounter with the local Maori, north to the tip of the North Island, then further north to Tonga and Fiji before heading for home. A second voyage in 1644 provided more information, though, to the disappointment of the company, again no riches. The new information was swiftly incorporated into the maps of the Dutch cartographer Joan Blaeu. However, the popular European perspective lagged far behind, and maps continued to be produced into the eighteenth century depicting a vast *terra australis* completely at odds with the latest discoveries. The transition of the Southern Land from a fictive construction to a fixed geographical entity was a particularly slow one.[15]

The English had certainly been slow to take an interest in the missing continent. Its discovery does not seem to have been on Francis Drake's agenda when he embarked upon his circumnavigation in 1577. The first Englishman to set foot on Australian soil was the Somerset-born buccaneer William Dampier, who came ashore on the northern coast of Western Australia on 5 January 1688. In 1697, four years after a version of Foigny's text was translated into English, Dampier published an account of his travels in this region in the company of a motley crew of adventurers, entitled *A New Voyage around the World*, which tweaked the curiosity of the British Admiralty, prompting them to give him a command to return to Australia.[16]

[14] The latter conjecture proved to be correct. Exploring a similar area nearly a century and a half later, Captain Watkin Tench witnessed an Aborigine climbing a tree using a type of hatchet, describing his swift ascent up the smooth trunk as 'a matter of astonishment' (Flannery, *The Explorers*, p. 71).

[15] Glyndwr Williams, 'New Holland to New South Wales: The English Approaches', in *Terra Australis to Australia*, pp. 117–21 (see n. 4, above); Willem Carel Hendrik Robert, *The Dutch Explorations, 1605–1756, of the North and Northwest Coast of Australia* (Amsterdam: Philopress, 1973).

[16] Kenneth Raymond Andrews, 'Drake and South America', in *Sir Francis Drake and the Famous Voyage, 1577–80*, ed. by Norman Joseph Thrower (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1984), pp. 49–59; Williams and Frost, '*Terra Australis*', p. 13. William Dampier, *A New Voyage Round the World* (London: James Knapton, 1697); Joel H. Baer, 'William Dampier (1651–1715)', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004). Dampier's *Voyage* went through multiple English editions and was translated into French, Dutch and German, Williams, 'New Holland', p. 122.

Foigny's work was one of baroque fantasy not empirical discovery, but for all that his text owed a clear debt to the tradition of utopian writing, the author was also clearly familiar with a range of discovery literature beyond his acknowledged reading of Quirós. In this sense, his introductory tribute to the tradition of geographical exploration and the curiosity of the human spirit was genuine, although he was to take his readers to a realm beyond the reach of any explorer. Foigny praised man's desire 'to comprehend what he considers difficult, and to penetrate what to many appears inaccessible'. Trying to 'climb into the heavens and, not content with reasoning and arguing about the nature of the stars', man 'delves into the secrets of divinity'.[17] As far as the destination of his intrepid traveller was concerned, Foigny quoted from the *Cosmographie* of Baron Gaston Jean-Baptiste de Renty that 'no one has as yet known what the Southern Land is, nor even whether it is inhabited'. No explorer, then, could contradict the account put forward by Foigny.[18]

Foigny told his readers how this account, the text of which he was merely the editor, had come into his possession. It was a burden placed upon him by Sadeur on his deathbed. Regarding Foigny as 'his angel' sent by God 'to bear a witness to his story' — a providential tone that was to become increasingly marked as the story progressed — Sadeur had entrusted him with the account of his voyages, 'a bundle of papers about one foot long, six fingers wide, and two thick', rather then see his most precious belonging fall into the wrong hands.[19]

Foigny waited for fifteen years before deciding to publish Sadeur's story, a sure indication to his readers that he did not embark upon this course of action out of any mercenary considerations. His decision was prompted by the manner in which Sadeur's text revealed 'the workings of divine wisdom' and the responsibilities this placed upon him not to hide this light under a bushel. In particular, he promised the reader, in a thinly veiled jibe at the Genevan hierarchy and the Calvinist doctrine of predestination, it would show up 'the hypocrisy of many who profess to be Christians endowed with special grace but who live worse than beasts', whilst revealing 'a pagan people, illuminated only by natural wisdom' who proved to be 'even more virtuous than Protestants'. Foigny assured his readers that he had reproduced Sadeur's original text as closely as possible, omitting only 'some purely philosophical matters' which he had resolved to publish separately to 'give a better idea of the great enlightenment the Australians enjoy in comparison to

[17] Foigny, *The Southern Land, Known*, p. 1.

[18] Foigny, *The Southern Land, Known*, p. 3.

[19] Foigny, *The Southern Land, Known*, pp. 5, 6.

the darkness that envelops our minds'. If Foigny ever intended another publication, it failed to materialize, perhaps on account of the trouble in which his first voyage into literary fiction landed him.[20]

Nicolas Sadeur was a child of the seas. Born on the waters, his French parents, Jacques and Guillemette, were both drowned when their ship went down in a storm that left the infant Nicolas stranded on the Spanish coast. The ship's captain, and Nicolas's godfather, initially agreed to allow a local to adopt Nicolas, but later returned and abducted the child, only for his ship to be sunk off the coast by a Portuguese vessel. Nicolas, floating in a straw-filled cot like Moses in the River Nile (Exodus 2), and a valet were plucked from the waters and transported to Portugal, where the valet handed the child over to the care of the Jesuits who ran the great poorhouse in Lisbon. The Jesuits, who noticed his 'leanings towards the religious life', placed Nicolas in the household of the Countess of Villa Franca, where he learned the classics, languages, mathematics, history, and philosophy, before being kidnapped by enemies of his adoptive family and carried off, once more, to sea.[21]

The pirates' vessel went down in a violent storm, but fortuitously a passing ship en route to the East Indies plucked Sadeur from the water. Reaching the Congo, Sadeur discovered 'an earthly paradise [...] filled with all that humans could desire for their health and pleasure', but the ease of living produced a people 'vague, lazy, simple and stupid', prompting the French traveller to conclude that the moment man 'loses his ambition he becomes paralysed'. The Congo was Foigny's halfway house between the Old World and the New, still unfamiliar but beginning to experience, for better or worse, the effects of European presence. This was illustrated clearly by the locals' dress, a cultural aspect that would prove to be literally a matter of life and death in the southern land. In the Congo, Sadeur found that the men 'go entirely naked', except that recently some, under European influence, had started to cover up.[22] Sadeur found fruit so nourishing as to constitute a complete diet, water more fortifying than Spanish wine, and flying fish the size of eagles but no crocodiles said by natural historians to be plentiful in the region, prompting him to reflect on Lucian's admonition that 'travellers may lie by authority' and pass off fictions that are taken for truths by the gullible.[23]

[20] Foigny, *The Southern Land, Known*, p. 7; Percy Guy Adams, *Travel Literature and the Evolution of the Novel* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1983), pp. 98, 112, 144–45.

[21] Foigny, *The Southern Land, Known*, pp. 8–16 (p. 14).

[22] Foigny, *The Southern Land, Known*, pp. 18–19. On female dress, Sadeur made no comment.

[23] Foigny, *The Southern Land, Known*, pp. 21–23 (p. 23).

Upon leaving the Kingdom of Congo, Sadeur was shipwrecked once more, tossed by the waves, clinging to flotsam until he managed to haul himself onto an island. There he encountered giant flying beasts, horse-like creatures with pointed heads and clawed hooves, giant dogs, and other animals unlike anything in Europe. Just as encounters between Europeans and the native peoples of the Americas and Australia had often turned bloody, so Sadeur's attempts at social exchange failed to bridge the communication divide, and violence ensued before he managed to escape on a floating island that turned out to be a whale, unsurprisingly perhaps of a species 'unknown to the naturalists'.[24] Finding peace of mind in meditation, and in Psalm 27, 'The Lord is my Light and Salvation', Sadeur once more alighted on land, only to be set upon by seven beasts resembling giant bears, before being hoisted out of their reach by two of the giant birds. Sadeur fought the birds, in a heroic struggle akin to Jacob wrestling the angel (Genesis 32), before finding himself pulled to safety, bloodied and naked, by several Australians.[25]

Fortuitously, Sadeur's accidental nudity would save his life on two counts. Firstly, the Australians observed a strict 'no dress policy', regarding any suggestion of covering the body as 'hostile to nature and an insult to reason'. Secondly, it enabled his hermaphroditic hosts to observe that the resolute traveller on their shores was, in reproductive terms, like them, prompting them to forego their customary lethal welcome to outsiders.[26] The unusual nature of Sadeur's arrival on foreign shores bypassed the communications hurdle over which European explorers commonly stumbled, with often bloody results.[27] Sadeur would spend some thirty-three years living with the Australians, learning their language, culture, and customs. Taken under the wing of one elderly Australian, Suains, with whom he discoursed freely about matters intellectual, religious, and philosophical in the manner of pupil and teacher (or confessor), he was nevertheless distrusted by many of the others principally because of his tendency to ask 'seditious questions'. The limits of the Australians' toleration were exhausted when, during one of their regular wars with a race called the Fundians, Sadeur not only failed to kill any of the enemy (and remove their ears for trophies), but was caught *in flagrante* embracing two Fundian women (sisters, in the presence of their mother), in the

[24] Foigny, *The Southern Land, Known*, pp. 26–30 (p. 30).

[25] Foigny, *The Southern Land, Known*, p. 35.

[26] Foigny, *The Southern Land, Known*, p. 47.

[27] For a study of the communications barrier and attempts to overcome it, see Patricia Seed, *Ceremonies of Possession in Europe's Conquest of the New World, 1492–1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995).

midst of battle, an offence as heinous to Australians as bestiality was to Europeans. Sentenced to death, Sadeur flew the coop on the back of a giant bird and returned, via Madagascar, to Europe.[28]

Ironically, given his later disinclination for warfare, Sadeur was welcomed as a warrior by the Australians, some of whom had witnessed the last stages of his desperate fight for survival. When he was taken to the nearest community, many came to kiss his hands and 'parts', and they only refrained from carrying him aloft in a triumphal procession on account of his condition. He was placed in their *Heb*, or House of Education, and looked after with a 'thoroughness and decency surpassing any in Europe' — the first of many comparisons in which the Europeans would come off worse.[29] Within a few months, Sadeur had learned enough of the Australians' language to communicate with his hosts. Their language, simple yet conveying not just the name but also the essence of things, represented one version of the universal language schemes beloved by early modern European linguistic scholars, that sought at their most ambitious not just to transcend the confusion of languages traceable, in biblical terms, to Babel, but desired to recover the purity of the Adamic language of Eden breathed by God into the human race.[30]

Sadeur found himself in a temperate and fertile land that produced ample delicious and nourishing vegetables and fruit to support a healthy diet, so healthy in fact that the Australians suffered from no forms of illness whatsoever throughout their lives, which extended far beyond the average European life expectancy, and the biblical three score years and ten. It was a land far removed from the dry, barren desert described by the Dutch explorer Carstensz, a description repeated with gloomy relish by Dampier, where nothing grew or could ever grow.[31] Sadeur spoke of Australians, eight-feet tall when fully grown, with firm nimble bodies, high and muscular shoulders, and sinewy arms. If this description sounded unremarkable, Sadeur then added, almost as an afterthought, that some Australians possessed an extra pair of arms coming out of their hips that they could extend at

[28] Foigny, *The Southern Land Known*, pp. 110–39 (p. 125); Percy Guy Adams, *Travellers and Travel Liars* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1962), p. 200.

[29] Foigny, *The Southern Land, Known*, p. 37.

[30] Foigny, *The Southern Land, Known*, pp. 92–95; James Knowlson, *Universal Language Schemes in England and France, 1600–1800* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1975), pp. 130–35. The Adamic language was associated by many early modern scholars with primitive Hebrew, with which the Australian language shared some similarities; Paul Cornelius, *Languages in Seventeenth- and Early Eighteenth-Century Imaginary Voyages* (Geneva: Librarie Droz, 1965), pp. 5–6.

[31] Foigny, *The Southern Land, Known*, pp. 36–46.

will.[32] Dampier's Aborigines possessed no such unusual features, but his description was relentlessly unflattering. He spoke of them as brutish, long of visage, with a 'very unpleasing aspect', possessing 'no one graceful feature in their faces'. He noted in particular that the 'two fore-teeth of their upper jaw were wanting in all of them, men and women, old and young; whether they draw them out, I know not'. Their hair was black, short, and curled, and their skin 'coal-black, like that of the negroes of Guinea'. He agreed with Carstensz's earlier assessment, describing them as the 'miserablest People in the World'. Such was their unfortunate state that Dampier reckoned that even the 'Hodmadods of Monomatapa' (Hottentots of South Africa), 'though a nasty people, yet for wealth are gentlemen to these, who have no houses and skin garments, sheep, poultry, and fruits of the earth, ostrich eggs, etc., as the Hodmadods have'. Dampier's description of the Aborigines was, unlike Carstensz's, widely read and would prove enduring in the European imagination.[33]

Sadeur's Australians, healthy, hospitable, and linguistically advanced, also surpassed the Europeans in intellectual attainment. Reading from the age of three, and writing from the age of six, the Australians' learning continued until the age of thirty, by which time they had perfected their knowledge in all branches of science, including philosophy and the study of the stars. Not only did the period of their studies extend well beyond any European educational system, but it was also markedly more democratic. At the end of their time of learning, there was no appreciable distinction amongst them in terms of capacity, genius, or learning. One reason for this was that the benefits of education were made available to all, on the grounds that inequality bred division, disorder, and dispute. It was inevitable, Suains lectured Sadeur, that anyone educated less, and placed beneath those who were educated more, would feel all the more deprived for knowing that 'nature created them all equal'.[34] Education, in particular under whose control it lay and to whom it was extended, was to prove one of the most fiercely contested battlegrounds for eighteenth-century reformers as the churches' traditional role in this sphere was challenged. It was an area in which, Suains informed Sadeur, Europeans possessed 'a slight tincture of reason but not enough to be enlightened by it', and remained burdened by the weight of custom.[35]

[32] Foigny, *The Southern Land, Known*, p. 47.

[33] Flannery, p. 27; Dampier, *Voyage Round the World*, pp. 463, 464; Williams, 'New Holland', p. 133.

[34] Foigny, *The Southern Land, Known*, pp. 95, 57.

[35] Foigny, *The Southern Land, Known*, p. 57.

When it came to sexual identity, the judgement of the Australian philosopher on Europeans was even harsher. Sadeur and the Australians may have shared an anatomical similarity, but their intellectual and emotional understanding of the hermaphroditic condition and the ideal state were diametrically opposed. Early modern Europe was familiar with the figure of the hermaphrodite in various guises, classical and contemporary, abstract and real. The figures of Hermaphroditus and Salmacis, the nymph who clasped the beautiful son of Hermes and Aphrodite in an eternal embrace, were a feature of Renaissance art. Aristophanes' eight-limbed *Androgynoi* in Plato's *Symposium*, perfect creatures divided into two by a capricious Zeus and destined to search the earth for their lost half, provided a natural parable for commentaries on marriage.[36] The hermaphrodite also featured, alongside centaurs, satyrs, and the dog-headed Cynocephalus, in medieval and early modern Eastern travel literature, as Western writers, often borrowing from Pliny the Elder's *Natural History*, used the wonders of the East to satirize European culture. As well as appearing as the exotic other alongside the Cyclops and Sirens, wonderful but naturally occurring, the hermaphrodite could also appear far more threateningly as a monstrous individual in the Europeans' midst, one of the unnatural births produced by divine will to warn and strike fear into the hearts and minds of Christians, although such portents usually took a more physically striking form, like conjoined twins.[37]

This was the European understanding of hermaphrodism that Sadeur conveyed to his Australian mentor, that his own anatomical condition was regarded as at best an unfortunate aberration from normalcy and at worst an affront to God and nature. Sadeur himself had been assigned a gender by the Jesuits, as advised by the third-century Roman statute *lex repetundarum*, a legal text that continued to influence early modern European civil and canon law.[38] The Australians, though, as Suains patiently explained, had a very different notion of what constituted the sexual norm, and were even less amenable than European society

[36] Mark Morford and Richard Lenardon, *Classical Mythology* (New York: Longman, 1999), pp. 214–17; Robin Hard, *The Routledge Handbook of Greek Mythology* (London: Routledge, 2003), p. 164; Ruth Gilbert, *Early Modern Hermaphrodites: Sex and Other Stories* (New York: Palgrave, 2002), pp. 14–19. Commentators did not dwell on the implicit suggestion in Plato's text of homosexual rather than heterosexual union.

[37] Lorraine Daston and Katherine Park, *Wonders and the Order of Nature, 1150–1750* (New York: Zone, 2001), pp. 33–34, 48–51; Gilbert, *Early Modern Hermaphrodites*, pp. 19–25.

[38] Foigny, *The Southern Land, Known*, pp. 13–14; Marie Delcourt, *Hermaphrodite: Myths and Rites of the Bisexual Figure in Classical Antiquity*, trans. by Jennifer Nicholson (London: Studio, 1961), p. 43; Gilbert, *Early Modern Hermaphrodites*, p. 42.

to any deviation from it. 'Each Australian', Suains informed his young friend, 'has both sexes', and 'if a child happens to be born with only one, they kill it as a monster'. Suains argued that people must be whole and free to reason, and to 'make a whole man requires both sexes', anything less being but half a man. Being 'completely whole', Australians could live alone contentedly without 'animal passions' in relationships that were 'never carnal'.[39]

As an example of mono-sexual deficiency, he asked Sadeur when two Europeans 'collaborated' to produce offspring, to whom did the child belong. Sadeur replied that in theory the child belonged to them both 'by an indivisible right', but in actuality the mother's rights were subordinated to those of the father. Suains was dismissive of this male domination as unreasonable, suggesting that logically the mother's rights should take precedence as 'everything happens within the mother'. Sadeur assured his readers that, although moved by the old man's arguments he could not agree with him, 'for they overturned all our laws'. It did cause him to ponder, however, the 'severe treatment of the sex that nature owes so much to' in European society, and he was troubled to think that 'the great empire that the male has usurped over the female was rather a form of tyranny than a just cause'. This was an extraordinary comment upon the rational and legal basis for gender relations within seventeenth-century Europe from a former monk.[40]

When it came to sex, the Australians were blissfully unaware of the means of their own procreation. When it came to God, they were very aware of a divinity, but had made a collective and binding decision not to utter a word on the subject. Sadeur, regarding himself as one who 'always had the greatest respect for religion', was worried, after spending a little time on the island, that 'there seemed to be no cult and no mention of God'. However, he was given to understand that the Australians' first rule of religion was silence — it was a 'heinous crime', he was made aware, 'to speak of it, whether for or against'. The young were instilled with a first understanding of the *Haab* or *Incomprehensible* by their 'mothers', taught to worship it without speaking, and warned that it was impossible to discuss its qualities without offending it.[41]

However, fortunately for Sadeur, who was anxious to talk about God, believing for the briefest of moments that perhaps God had sent him to this land to enlighten a people who 'lack nothing in the world except knowledge of him', Suains was apparently at liberty to engage in philosophical intercourse with an

[39] Foigny, *The Southern Land, Known*, pp. 47, 51, 53.

[40] Foigny, *The Southern Land, Known*, pp. 53, 54, 55; Adams, *Travel Literature*, p. 211.

[41] Foigny, *The Southern Land, Known*, p. 64.

outsider.[42] Sadeur told his mentor that Europeans sought to understand God through two complementary sources of knowledge, one natural and the other metaphysical. Nature demonstrated the existence of an author and conservator, and awareness of that superior force prompted both adoration and a recognition by the individual that all things must have a beginning, a creation.[43] Suains concurred that there must indeed be a 'great architect and supreme moderator' and that it was 'execrable blasphemy' to adhere to an atomist philosophy. To reduce everything to chance encounters and collisions of atoms was to 'give to the creature what can belong only to the Creator'. To avert this danger, the Australians had resolved to 'suppress all speculation about the Supreme Being', to teach that it was the foundation of all principles, that it acted universally and without favour, and 'not allow anyone to think otherwise'.[44]

Sadeur felt impelled to ask why, given that the Australians universally recognized this great Sovereign, did they not establish a religion to worship it. He told the Australian that Europeans had 'set hours for his worship [...] our prayers to invoke him, hymns to glorify him, and his commandments to keep'. Suains recognized that once a supreme Being had been recognized, it was difficult not to desire to follow its will and keep in its favour, and asked whether Europeans spoke freely of this Being. Indeed they did, Sadeur replied, and, he continued enthusiastically, these constituted 'our finest and truest discourses', for 'there can be nothing more agreeable than to talk about him on whom we depend for life and death'. Nothing, the philosopher replied, could be more praiseworthy, before posing the fatal question, 'but are you all of like mind as to the identity of this Incomprehensible Being?'[45]

Sadeur was trapped, and Suains allowed no evasion. When the European was forced to admit that divided opinions on this subject had caused interminable conflict and wars, the Australian observed that this was the inevitable consequence of attempting to fathom the unfathomable. He launched a scathing attack on religious intolerance and wars carried out in the name of God. How, he asked, could Europeans imagine that they were pleasing the divinity by destroying one another under the pretext of doing his will?[46] The tone is reminiscent of the conversation in *Mandeville's Travels* between the pious knight Sir John Mandeville,

[42] Foigny, *The Southern Land, Known*, p. 65.

[43] Foigny, *The Southern Land, Known*, p. 65.

[44] Foigny, *The Southern Land, Known*, pp. 65–66.

[45] Foigny, *The Southern Land, Known*, p. 67.

[46] Foigny, *The Southern Land, Known*, p. 67.

travelling through the Holy Land as a pilgrim, and the Sultan of Egypt. The Sultan asked Mandeville how well Christians governed themselves. When he responded positively, the unexpectedly well-informed Egyptian ruler cut the ground from underneath him by embarking upon a lengthy and accurate exposition on the greed and faithlessness of Christian princes that left the hapless knight humbled.[47] Sadeur similarly wilted under the philosopher's analysis. When he told him that such behaviour flowed from a religious zeal shored up by personal revelations and confirmed by miracles, Suains asked 'what great certitude' exempted such people from 'a proper degree of scepticism', and upon what grounds could they possibly believe that the deity spoke to them and not to others. Suains concluded that Europeans could only conceive of a first Being by 'making him partial, his revelations obscure and in need of interpretation, by considering him indifferent to the disputes waged in his name, and by making him appear cruel for destroying in the end those who work hardest to please him, should their efforts be misplaced'.[48]

European revealed religion stood condemned as unreasonable and intellectually base. Suians dismissed the efficacy of prayer. To invoke the Incomprehensible was necessarily to suppose that the deity either did not know what people wanted or was unwilling to grant it, and could be influenced by importunity or drawn out of indifference. This was blasphemy or sacrilege. The Australians were fatalists, accepting events 'fully convinced that it must be intended to be so'.[49] Nor was the philosopher impressed by his European friend's attempts to explain Christian belief in the afterlife, though he understood the notion of death as perfection not destruction. He explained that his people subscribed to a doctrine of 'universal genius', an essence or principle dosed out to each individual and conserved upon that person's death until it was communicated to 'a new housing'. Suains was espousing a version of metempsychosis or transmigration of the soul common to Greek philosophy that entered Western tradition primarily through the writings of Plato and the Neoplatonists. Australians believed in an almost Manichean division of spirit and matter in which life was a temporary, and uncomfortable, union between a material body and a spiritual soul opposed in essence. Death,

[47] *Mandeville's Travels: Texts and Translations*, ed. by Malcolm Letts, 2 vols (London: Hakluyt Society, 1953), I, 95–98; Greenblatt, *Marvelous Possessions*, p. 29. On medieval travel to the Holy Land and Near East, see *Eastward Bound: Travel and Travellers, 1050–1500*, ed. by Rosamund Allen (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004).

[48] Foigny, *The Southern Land, Known*, pp. 68–70.

[49] Foigny, *The Southern Land, Known*, pp. 72–73.

which often came in the form of socially acceptable suicide, was a welcome release, despite the fact that, as Sadeur observed, 'they barely knew what it was to suffer' whilst Europeans lived in 'a veritable vale of tears'.[50]

At no time in the exchange had Sadeur mentioned the belief of Europeans that God sent his only son to earth to die for their sins, deciding that to attempt discussion on such a subject would 'only be casting pearls before swine', and that his philosopher-friend would tie him up in innumerable difficulties and make Europeans out 'to be imbeciles'. Remembering the warning of St Paul (I Corinthians 1. 18) that the preaching of the cross is foolishness to those that perish, Sadeur concluded that the Australians were blinded by science and reason to the incomprehensible and ineffable. He took refuge in the surety of precisely that kind of personal revelation dismissed by his friend as illogical arrogance, thanking Providence for giving him 'another kind of enlightenment, clearer and more certain' that his saviour had endowed him 'with a certain immortal soul that would share its glory'.[51]

Sadeur did, however, detect a flaw in the Australians' rational worldview. They shared the weakness common to Europeans and other races of concocting exaggerated historical chronologies and ridiculous tales about invented ancestors. In a thinly disguised parody of Genesis and the story of the Garden of Eden, the Australians believed that they originated from the *Haab*, or divinity, which breathed out three beings from which they were all descended. This creation predated that of Sadeur's race by five thousand years, making the Australians, from a European Christian perspective, a pre-Adamic race.[52]

Pre-Adamism, a heresy with roots in early Christian times, had re-emerged in early modern Europe due in part to the questions posed by the discovery of the New World and the difficulties posed in incorporating previously unknown races like the American Indians into the biblical record, and partly because of scholars' increasing awareness of ancient chronologies like the Chinese seemingly at odds with scriptural history. The most notorious seventeenth-century pre-Adamite was the French Protestant millenarian Isaac la Peyrère, whose *Prae-adamitae*, published in Amsterdam in 1655, earned its author European-wide condemnation and elevation to the rank of arch-heretic alongside the likes of Spinoza and Hobbes. Foigny could have drawn the pre-Adamite theory from elsewhere, but at

[50] Foigny, *The Southern Land, Known*, pp. 75–83 (pp. 75, 81).

[51] Foigny, *The Southern Land, Known*, p. 71.

[52] Foigny, *The Southern Land, Known*, p. 95.

least one of his readers, the extremely well-informed French Protestant philosopher and critic Pierre Bayle, noted the parallels between the two works.[53]

Foigny's critique of Scripture extended further, to the material source of revealed Judaeo-Christianity, the Bible, and its status as a reliable record of divine revelation. The Australians possessed 'some old parchments that they believe to be eight thousand years old, in which their annals were recorded year by year in incredible detail'. Two years after Foigny's publication, in 1678 in Paris, the French Oratorian priest and biblical scholar Richard Simon, published a controversial work in which he described the practice of Jewish scribes in very similar terms. The Australians did not necessarily ascribe to the writers of their ancient texts the infallibility generally conferred by Jews and Christians to the authors of their respective canons, but they did believe them to be 'incapable of deception'. The first five thousand years of Australian history were contained within 'forty-eight books of prodigious size' kept in the *Hab* as sacred objects, not unlike the custom of the Jews who kept the tablets of the Law within the holy of holies in the tabernacle, the portable sanctuary constructed by Moses at Sinai. However, Sadeur observed, were the claims of their writers true, the sun would be larger and the moon smaller, there would be more stars in the sky, the seas would be a different shape, and 'a thousand and one other unlikely events would have occurred'. The reason why the Australians were so rational in every other aspect of their lives but this was because they were free 'to reason on any subject except that of the Haab and the Habes, that is, of the Divinity and of their annals'. Readers were left to draw their own conclusions as to what areas of Christian belief, similarly shielded from rational enquiry, might also seem, to the eye of an outsider, ridiculous.[54]

In the end, Foigny was able to ride out the storm over *La Terre australe connue*. However, it is not difficult to comprehend why his dystopian Australian adventure aroused such concern. Through his flawed hermaphroditic hero, Foigny

[53] [Isaac la Peyrère], *Prae-adamitae, sive exercitatio super versibus duodecimo, decimotertio, & decimoquarto, capitis quinti Epistolae D. Pauli ad Romanos, quibus inducuntur primi homines ante Adamum conditi* (Amsterdam: Louis and Daniel Elzevier, 1655); Richard Popkin, *Isaac la Peyrère (1596–1676): His Life, Work and Influence* (Leiden: Brill, 1987). The Australians believed that Europeans were created as the result of the brutal coupling of an amorous amphibious serpent and an unwilling man; Foigny, *The Southern Land, Known*, pp. 95–97; Pierre Bayle, *The Dictionary Historical and Critical of Mr Peter Bayle/Pierre Bayle*, intro. by Burton Feldman, 5 vols (New York: Garland, 1984), I, 101–03; V, 4–7.

[54] Foigny, *The Southern Land, Known*, pp. 95, 96, 97; Richard Simon, *Histoire critique du Vieux Testament* (Paris: Billaine, 1678).

sought to challenge the social prejudices and presumptions that underpinned the functioning of European society. Foigny's questioning of the quality and access of education available to people, and, more radically, the rarely heard comments about gender relations and sexual inequality that he posed would probably have been sufficient to alarm the censors.

However, it was in regard to religion, particularly man's relationship with God and the validity of a biblically based revealed faith, where the Franciscan-turned-Calvinist strayed furthest from the path of orthodoxy. Here, though, the author was at his most ambivalent. Sadeur was clearly impressed to find a society which, by collectively paying due reverence to a God never mentioned, had no need for a clerical caste and was untroubled by confessional divisions. The critique of biblical creation also suggests a degree of scepticism about dogmas deduced from scriptural sources. However, ultimately a world without faith proved too spiritually unsatisfying, for Sadeur as for Foigny. The former monk, for all his troubles with religious authorities, seemed unable or unwilling to live without them. For all his apparent approval of reason, and a rational religion that looked decidedly deistic, he was unwilling to give up on faith, even if that meant abandoning that rational religion beloved of the moderate mainstream Enlightenment and falling back on fideism.

As for not mentioning God, Foigny ended up back in a monastery, the physical embodiment of a society determined to mention God. This came about after he tangled once again with the Genevan authorities, in 1684, over another inappropriate relationship. Now a widower, Foigny had entered into a relationship with his servant Jeanne Berlie, who became pregnant. When the Genevan authorities learned that the couple had converted and baptized the baby in the Catholic faith, they seized Foigny's four children from his first marriage. Foigny recovered three of his children, but his daughter Catherine was lost to him. Foigny ended up spending his last years in a monastery in Savoy, where he died in 1692.[55]

However, no sooner had the author died, than his literary creation was dramatically reborn as a new edition of his work appeared on the bookshelves. Purporting to be a revised version by Foigny, the new text was more strident and less nuanced, more overtly deistic and anti-religious in tone, and largely shorn of the ambiguities woven into the original text. Almost certainly nothing to do with Foigny, the new version was most probably constructed by its editor, the eclectic scholar Abbé François Raguenet, whose oeuvre included a life of Oliver Cromwell. Perhaps Raguenet thought Foigny would appreciate the irony, after the

[55] Foigny, *The Southern Land, Known*, pp. xii–xiii.

former monk had posed as the disinterested editor of Sadeur's tale, to see his own work 'edited'. This version, which ran through six editions by 1732, and appeared in an English translation orchestrated by the maverick Irish publisher John Dunton, entirely eclipsed the original text. It seems that Foigny was the victim of an opportunistic act of literary theft, an entirely common occurrence in seventeenth-century Europe, where authors had little enough control over the fate of their works in life, let alone death.[56]

The foundation of Australia, nearly a century after Foigny's death, interposed between the American and French Revolutions, was shaped in large part by a European Enlightenment mentality that believed in progress and shared Foigny's reservations about the stability of societies based upon religious sanctions. Two years before the First Fleet landed at Sydney Cove on 26 January 1788, extracts from Foigny's work appeared in Paris in Marquis d'Argenson's *Bibliothèque universelle des romans*, and his entire work was reproduced in Charles Garnier's *Bibliothèque des voyages imaginaires*, published in Amsterdam and Paris between 1787 and 1789. Unfortunately for Foigny, as the first colonies were established and the inland exploration of the country commenced in the early nineteenth century, it was Raguenet's version of hermaphroditic Australians that people were reading.[57]

[56] Berneri, *Journey through Utopia*, pp. 187–89; Adrian Johns, *The Nature of the Book: Print and Knowledge in the Making* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998).

[57] John Gascoigne, *The Enlightenment and the Origins of European Australia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. xi, 1.

Mission to Tahiti: Cultural Translations in Eighteenth-Century Spanish Journals and Coastal Views

Mercedes Maroto Camino

Among the eighteenth-century voyages of South Pacific exploration, there were two little-known journeys sponsored by the Spanish Crown and organized by the Viceroy of Peru, Manuel de Amat, between 1772 and 1775. The first voyage, which took place between September 1772 and February 1773, was led by Domingo de Boenechea. It was as a result of this voyage that a young sailor, Máximo Rodríguez, started to learn Tahitian, which improved thanks to two locals, Pautu and Tetuanui, who were brought back to Peru. The second voyage, on which this paper will concentrate, was also commanded by Boenechea and departed in September of 1774. The two ships that formed the fleet parted company on 5 October, to meet again in Tahiti in November of that year, returning to the harbour of El Callao in Peru in April 1775 after Boenechea's death in January.[1] A 'mission' was, however, left on the island until November of

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[1] According to Francisco Mellén Blanco, the Spaniards discovered some sixteen islands not previously seen by Europeans: thirteen by Boenechea, two by the pilot José Andía y Varela, and one by Gayangos, who succeeded Boenechea in command after the latter's death in Tahiti in

1775 when another Spanish ship, commanded by Cayetano de Lángara, brought them back to Peru. This was done following the desire of the two Franciscan friars from the mission, Fray Gerónimo Clota and Fray Narciso González, who felt threatened by the locals and were disappointed that no more soldiers had been sent to remain with them as protection.

The 'mission' that remained on the island for nearly a year was composed of four unlikely companions: the two reluctant Franciscan friars, Francisco Pérez (a sailor assigned to them for their house chores), and an interpreter, the aforementioned Máximo, who wrote a detailed journal of the 'mission'. Wholly conversant in Tahitian as a result of having been there twice and tutoring the two Tahitians who had gone to Lima, Máximo is one of the most interesting characters to have entered the Pacific at this time. In fact, Máximo, who was a young, lower-class Peruvian probably of mixed descent, acted as the perfect go-between. His account of his experiences will here be combined with other artefacts of this encounter — maps and a precious object — to tell the story of a unique cross-cultural encounter spanning the Old World and the New.

Máximo's is not the only account of the voyage, however, and the journals of the pilots Juan Pantoja and José Andía y Varela also shed light on many aspects of this journey. In addition, the incorporation of indigenous knowledge apparent in these accounts can be appreciated in the bird's-eye views produced during the journeys, which foreground a mixture of mutual respect and European hegemony. The dialectical engagement that can be appreciated from Máximo's words and experiences can be traced in the other narratives, as well as in these bird's-eye views which were mostly produced by the pilot of the voyage, Juan de Hervé. Needless to say, as some of these views and the narratives have not been published or translated, many aspects of these voyages still remain to be studied.

Untainted by any hypocritical desire to misrepresent himself, Máximo's journal offers a remarkable example of the cultural exchanges with indigenous peoples of the Pacific during the eighteenth century. During his year on the island, Máximo communicated with the locals and befriended them, often at the expense of the priests from the mission with whom his relationship was, at best, cool. Indeed, Máximo became increasingly distant from the friars (the 'Padres') he served, adapting to the Tahitian way of life away from the customs of his country of origin, Spanish Peru. Máximo therefore occupied an ideal position as an observer who was able to empathize with the other to an extent that seems to have

January 1775. See Máximo Rodríguez, *Españoles en Tahití*, ed. by Francisco Mellén Blanco, Crónicas de América, 69 (Madrid: Historia 16, 1992), p. 14.

been unusual at the time and this gives his account a unique interest for contemporary readers. Not surprisingly, however, Máximo also remains an outsider of the culture encountered, as revealed by some of his forthright comments, including what to us are unseemly airs of superiority when he describes local beliefs. Nonetheless, his straightforwardness gradually endears him to modern readers, as must have been the case with the authorities to which the journal was directed.

Máximo's paradigmatic location as an outsider makes him what Greg Dening has described as a 'beachcomber'; that is to say, someone who abandons one culture to embrace another even if, in this case, such abandonment was only temporary.[2] From his privileged position as an outsider to both the indigenous peoples and the 'missionaries', Máximo was able to represent a culture that was, and was not, 'other' to him. Máximo thus faced the contradictions of observing a culture while living (in) it, thereby becoming what in ethnography is understood to be a 'participant observer'. Participant observers, as the name suggests, take part in the culture that they seek to describe, aiming to accept it on its own terms. Although, as James Clifford remarks, this paradigm is characteristic of early twentieth-century anthropology, a Western 'observer' cannot but be an outsider who must, of necessity, remain beyond the culture under scrutiny.[3] In other words, the relationship with one's object of observation or study can neither be one of total empathy nor one of absolute detachment. It is, instead, always and inevitably a negotiation of a distance which is, at best, underwritten by a sincere effort to value others and the cultures they inhabit. Máximo foregrounds the contradictions inherent in the process of cross-cultural contact.

In the analysis that follows, I suggest that we can consider the eighteenth-century 'mission' to Tahiti in which Máximo took part as a moment when the indigenous population and the four Europeans met on unusually even terms. This

[2] Beachcombers, for Dening, 'were those who crossed beaches alone. They crossed the beach without the supports that made their own world real into other worlds that were well-established and self-sufficient. They were strangers in their new societies and scandals to their old. They left behind them the roles that made their world orderly and its gestures meaningful.' For these men, '[t]he beach that was the boundary between the old world and the new ran down the very centre of their lives' (Greg Dening, *Islands and Beaches: Discourse on a Silent Land; Marquesas 1774–1880* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1980), p. 129).

[3] James Clifford, *The Predicament of Culture: Twentieth-Century Ethnography, Literature, and Art* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1988), p. 93. To quote James A. Boon's summary, 'The prescribed method of fieldwork requires being there, participating and observing, and speaking the language' (*Other Tribes, Other Scribes: Symbolic Anthropology in the Comparative Study of Cultures, Histories, Religions, and Texts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), p. 5).

was the case because, for over nine months of the year that they stayed on the island, the Spaniards were deprived of the means to access their civilization by the ship that could take them to their place of origin. Having no ship to back them up, they had to survive among locals using their wits and, more often than not in this case, Máximo's linguistic and cultural skills.

Máximo's role as a cultural 'mediator' was not unique to him, for it was modelled on and facilitated by the experience of two local Tahitians. These two Tahitians were part of a group of four that left Tahiti for Peru, the others having lost their lives as a result of the voyage.[4] Upon their arrival in Peru, Viceroy Amat welcomed them, gave them clothes, lodged them in his palace, and exchanged names with two of them, following the indigenous custom. While in Lima these travellers, Pautu and Tetuanui, became fluent in Spanish, observed Spanish customs, and participated in everyday life. They went to the extent of being baptized a few months after arriving, becoming known as Tomás and Manuel, normally referred to as Tomás Pautu and Manuel Tetuanui. Thus, following their Christianization, while their family names remained Tahitian, these islanders incorporated into them a new Christian name from Spanish, which effectively made them members of the realm of European Christendom. In fact their composite names are our first example of the syncretism which characterized these encounters.

Máximo's account deals in great detail with the time spent on the island by the two friars, the sailor, and himself. As well as Máximo's diary, there are four main sources from the voyage which expose the explorers' interaction with the islanders, affording some interesting examples of cross-cultural exchange. These are the journal of the captains, Boenechea and Gayangos, the accounts of the pilots José Andía y Varela and Juan Pantoja, and the Padres' journal. The two accounts of the journey by the pilots, the keen observers Andía y Varela and Pantoja, offer some noteworthy information. Fewer insights are provided by the narrative of the Padres, who focused only on those issues fuelling their own fears. Also important from the point of view of ethnographic information is Viceroy Amat's questionnaire (*interrogatorio*) regarding what the voyagers ought to be asking from the islands and their peoples.[5]

[4] Four men left Tahiti: Tipitia, Heiao, Pautu, and Tetuanui. Tipitia died upon arrival in Valparaíso (1773) from influenza, which had probably been caught on the voyage. A second Tahitian, Heiao, died in September of that year of smallpox upon arrival in Lima.

[5] José Andía y Varela's journal, *Relación del viaje [...]* (1774–75), is kept at the Archivo General de Indias (AGI) with three ms copies: one held by the Museo Naval (MS 208, fols 2–100, and MS 19, fols 137–86), another one at the Biblioteca Nacional of Spain in Madrid, and the last

Besides Pantoja's, these narratives were found, translated, and published in English by Corney for the Hakluyt Society at the beginning of the twentieth century. Corney carried out an astonishingly intense and successful archival and editorial exercise, finding, transcribing, and translating not just the main sources for the voyage. He also located and identified what is probably one of the most extraordinary artefacts of South Pacific origin: the *umete* given to Máximo by Tu (Fig. 1). Like the narratives and bird's-eye views produced and used during the journeys, the story of the *umete* is one of cross-cultural communication. A type of large bowl, perhaps a stone seat or headrest, the *umete* is without doubt the most remarkable gift ever given by the Tahitians and probably one of the most beautifully crafted artefacts from the Society Islands. It was made in Maurua (now Maupiti) for the Chief of Raiatea and it was sent to the Tahitian *ari'i*, Tu, by the Chief of Raiatea as a precious gift. Máximo asked Tu for it to give it to the King of Spain and, because of his special standing among Tahitians, he was given it.

After receiving the precious gift, Máximo had the *umete* carried by four men towards the place where the Mission in Tautira was established. On the way, however, the *umete* was stolen but, after some enquiries, it was recovered by Máximo, who then guarded it all night, looking after it carefully until it reached Tautira.

one by the Real Academia de la Historia in Madrid. It was printed in 1947 by Joaquín de Sarriera and was translated by Corney: José Andía y Varela, *Relación del viaje hecho a la Isla de Amat, por otro nombre Otahití, y descubrimiento de otras adyacentes en los años 1774 y 1775* (Barcelona: Porter, 1947); Bolton Glanvill Corney, *The Quest and Occupation of Tahiti by Emissaries of Spain during the Years 1772–1776*, 3 vols (London: Hakluyt Society, 1913–19), II, 221–317. The most relevant segments of the friars' account, the original of which is held at the Real Academia de la Historia in Madrid (RAHM), appear in the edition of Bernardino de Izaguirre, *Historial de las misiones franciscanas y narración de los progresos de la geografía en el oriente del Perú* (Cajamarca: Tipografía San Antonio, 1925), III, 121–38. Excerpts from both accounts are translated by Corney, *Quest and Occupation*, pp. 211–18 and 319–49. The only extant copy of Máximo Rodríguez's journal, *Relación diaria, que hizo el intérprete [...]* (1774–76), is held in London's Royal Geographical Society. It was edited by Mellén and published in 1992 (see n. 1, above). Pantoja's account came to light after Corney did his edition and has been published in Spanish by Mellén: Juan Pantoja y Arriaga, 'Un diario inédito sobre la presencia española en Tahití (1774–1775)', ed. by Francisco Mellén Blanco, *Revista española de estudios del Pacífico*, 2 (1992), 109–81. The original is kept at the Biblioteca Universitaria in Sevilla (MS 330/117) and there is a copy at the Museo Naval in Madrid (MS 2396, doc. 28). The journal of Boenechea and Tomás Gayangos, *Diario de la navegación [...]* (1775) is kept at the Archivo General de Indias in Seville (AGI, Lima 1035), and there is a manuscript copy at Madrid's Real Academia de la Historia. It was published by Barras y de Aragón in 1945–46 and translated by Corney, *Quest and Occupation*, II, 103–99. Clota and González's journal is kept at the RAHM, and was published by Bernardino de Izaguirre, *Historial de las misiones franciscanas*.

Fig. 1. *Umete* (ceremonial bowl), *c.* 1770. Museo Nacional de Antropología, Madrid. Reproduced with permission.

After the 'mission' had been abandoned, the *umete* was taken in the ship *El Águila*, captained by Cayetano de Lángara, to Peru where it arrived on 18 February 1776. In Peru it went to Viceroy Amat, who was meant to take it to the King in Spain. As Amat was getting ready to be replaced in the Viceroyalty, the *umete* remained forgotten in his palace. No further references to it appear in the correspondence thereafter until Máximo notes some twelve years later, in 1788, that no care had been taken of it. In this letter, Máximo complains that it was misused by the Viceroy's butler for washing clothes.

Another letter by Amat's successor, Viceroy Theodor de Croix, indicates that, because Máximo had obtained the *umete* after pleading with Tu, it was a precious object that should be deposited in the Gabinete de Historia Natural.[6] Currently not on display, the *umete* lies in a corner of the Museo de Antropología in Madrid,

[6] De Croix also refers to Máximo's journal being enclosed with Máximo's *Memorial*, the original of which has not been located to date. On the journey undertaken by the *umete*, see Rodríguez, *Españoles en Tahití*, pp. 26–27; *The Two Worlds of Omai* (Auckland: Auckland City Art Gallery, 1977).

after having been returned briefly to the South Pacific in 1977 for an exhibition at the Auckland Art Gallery entitled 'The Two Worlds of Omai'.[7] While in Auckland, three reproductions of the *umete* were made: two for local museums and one for Tahiti. Needless to say, some Tahitians have expressed their wishes that the *umete* be returned to them.[8]

The journey of the *umete*, therefore, echoes some of the themes also revealed in the narratives and charts of this voyage. The former also reveal an undercurrent of political and religious objectives that often merges with the aims of personal advancement in the narratives. Nonetheless, even though the perspective that they afford is obviously partial and filtered, these sources give some unique indications of indigenous presence and attitudes. Altogether, the views and narratives related to this 'mission' provide some insights into aspects of the cultures of the South Pacific at the time of the European Enlightenment, including religious, burial, and sexual practices.

The two voyages in which Máximo took part were sponsored by the then Viceroy of Peru, Manuel Amat, whose full name was Manuel de Amat y Junyent Planella Aymerich y Santa Pau. Amat was a Catalan nobleman, the second son of the first marquis of Castelbell, born in 1704. He occupied the position of viceroy in Peru from 12 October 1761 to 17 July 1776, when he was replaced by Manuel de Guirior.[9] Therefore, Amat spent fifteen years in Peru and a further three as president of the Audiencia of Chile. It was during his last years as Viceroy of Peru that the expeditions to Tahiti were mounted and that he provided the relevant instructions for the fleet to follow. He also drafted the remarkable questionnaire about the journey, the flora and fauna and, especially, about the indigenous peoples and their way of life.

Viceroy Amat seems to have been influenced by accounts of other voyages of exploration and by early ethnographic descriptions. Amat paraded in open carriages with the two Tahitians who went to Lima and, more famously, with his Amerindian mistress.[10] But despite his apparent interest in other peoples and

[7] The catalogue of this exhibition, *Two Worlds of Omai*, gives preferential treatment to the *umete*, which occupied a prominent place in the display.

[8] See Rodríguez, *Españoles en Tahití*, p. 29.

[9] Amat's complete title was Virrey-Gobernador, Capitán General del Perú y Presidente de la Audiencia de Lima. He died a few years after returning to Spain, in 1782.

[10] Amat's outings with his lover, the famous Lima actor Micaela Villegas, who was known as La Perricholi, made them famous in Europe, inspiring Prosper Merimé's *Le Carrose du Saint Sacrement* which was, in turn, the source of Jacque Offenbach's operetta *La Périchole* and Jean Renoir's film *Le Carosse d'or/ The Golden Coach*.

cultures, Amat's focus on the Pacific was passing, much like that of eighteenth-century Spain. In fact, the prefabricated house built for the mission with the help of Tahitians, as well as its garden, was abandoned after the year spent on the island. Once the mission left Tahiti, no Spaniard ever returned to honour the pompous 'Treaty of Ojatutira' which was drafted and witnessed in order to ratify the symbolic possession of the island by the Spanish Crown.[11]

This rather meaningless treaty has also been called the 'Convention of Ojatutira' or, in Spanish, the 'Capitulaciones de Tahutira' (1775). It was part of the series of histrionic rituals recognized as performative acts of possession that took place in the presence of the indigenous people.[12] These rituals were largely addressed to audiences back home, and especially to other European powers. In the case of Tahiti, the Spanish 'performed' this treaty before the chiefs and 'principal' people of the island, but although their acceptance was recorded it was not signed. The English and the French likewise 'took possession' of the island and its peoples without acknowledging indigenous presence or agreement. These ceremonials were to Europeans necessary acts to ratify their possession. As Dening notes, Samuel Wallis took possession of the island, which he named St George,

> with a pennant and a pole, a turned sod, a toast to the King's good health and three British cheers. Nine months later, Comte Louis Antoine de Bougainville buried an oak plank inscribed with the message that Tahiti belonged to the French. He left the names of all his men in a bottle. Then the Spaniards, when they came, set up a holy cross, processed to it with lighted candles, sang their litanies, said a mass, fired their muskets and their guns, wrote a solemn little convention to themselves.[13]

One can only imagine what the Tahitians must have thought of these ceremonial acts, although it is safe to assume that they did not understand them as acts of imperial incorporation. Therefore, while it was their land that was symbolically (and often practically) appropriated by the explorers, it is unlikely that the indigenous peoples fully comprehended (let alone approved of) the significance of the actions and the deeds recording or ratifying them. Nevertheless, it is worth noting that, in the case of the Spanish treaty, the documents attest to the fact

[11] As Mellén notes, this treaty contrasts with the one that was signed in Easter Island in that it was never ratified in writing by the Tahitians, with only the record of the notary indicating that they had verbally accepted the compact: Rodríguez, *Españoles en Tahití*, p. 20.

[12] I dedicate a chapter, 'Performing the South Pacific', in my book *Producing the Pacific: Maps and Narratives (1567–1606)* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2005), pp. 101–19, to the study of these rituals in the three Pacific voyages sponsored by the Spanish Crown in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.

[13] Greg Dening, *Performances* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1996), p. 142.

that the Tahitians seemed to be pleased with the covenant. Indeed, the islanders dutifully fulfilled their part of the compact by looking after and providing for the Padres while they remained on the island, giving them the necessary help to build their house and compound. By way of contrast, perhaps because of conflicts in their American colonies and at home, the Spaniards did not observe their pompous commitment to return to the island in order to protect the locals from their neighbours.

Alongside the ceremonies symbolizing possession of the land, discovery and appropriation were embodied in the maps produced to accompany journeys of exploration. During the voyages looked at in this paper, various charts of Tahiti and of many of its neighbouring islands were drafted, mostly in the form of coastal bird's-eye views. These manuscript views, though largely unpublished even today, were held by the Spanish Hydrographical Office, becoming important sources for maps and atlases published thereafter.

The bird's-eye views drafted during these voyages followed a long tradition, probably inaugurated during the Italian Renaissance, when urban centres started to be represented in a unique way that made them literally 'subjects of history'.[14] Tracing the history of coastal views and their use, Rüdiger Joppien and Bernard Smith remark on the fact that they were part of maps from very early on, noting how Gabriel de Vallseca included some views of the Mediterranean's important towns in 1447. Their widespread use, especially as navigational tools, is, however, a later development, one which started to take shape perhaps from the 1520s:

> According to Waters, the first coastal views to appear in printed sailing directions are to be found as crude wood cuts in Pierre Garcie's *Le grant routier*, published in 1520. One of the earliest charts to include coastal views was a primitive chart of the English coast in the vicinity of Orfordness, *c.* 1530, while some of the first coastal views produced by the Dutch are to be found on Cornelis Anthonisz's *Hier beghint die Caerte van die Oosterse See*, published *c.* 1544.[15]

The use of coastal views gained momentum after the 1580s, when they 'became a regular feature on printed charts following the publication in 1584 of Lucas Janszoon Waghenaer's *Spieghel der Zeevaerdt*'.[16] Coastal views were certainly used

[14] Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, trans. by Donald Nicholson-Smith (Oxford: Blackwell, 1991), p. 278; Mercedes Maroto Camino, *Practising Places: Lazarillo, Saint Teresa and the Early Modern City* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2001), pp. 45–66.

[15] Rüdiger Joppien and Bernard Smith, *The Art of Captain Cook's Voyages* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985–88), p. xxxviii.

[16] Joppien and Smith, *Art of Captain Cook's Voyages*, p. xxxviii.

during Elizabethan times, and they were instrumental in Francis Drake's voyages during the second half of the sixteenth century.[17] From Spanish voyages to the Pacific, four views of coastal Vanuatu (then called *Australia del Espíritu Santo*) survive from the 1605–06 journey led by Pedro Fernández de Quirós. The views were drafted by Diego de Prado, who at this point of the journey travelled in the ship in which Luis Vaez de Torres was captain, the *San Pedrico*. This ship, once separated from Quirós's *San Pedro y San Pablo*, sighted the northern coast of Australia from the strait that today bears his name.[18]

Like other views or maps, the bird's-eye views of this journey have descriptive and political functions that are inextricably linked to the European colonial design.[19] As geographic and ethnographic descriptions these views can be considered part and parcel of those imperial or proto-imperial discourses. In other words, the land and its inhabitants are assimilated into the empire by means of representation. As Stephen Greenblatt remarks, 'Everything in the European dream of possession rests on witnessing, a witnessing understood as a form of significant and representative seeing. To see is to secure the truth of what might otherwise be deemed incredible.'[20] Thus, voyagers and explorers literally made their mark on the land by means of descriptions that conform to what Michel de Certeau calls 'writing that conquers'.[21]

The views related to the journey endorse Certeau's idea that writing can effectively reify the effects of arrival as conquest. Most of the views are either plan views or bird's-eye views, which use a rising background of thirty to ninety degrees to suggest visual apprehension and, ultimately, possession. For example, one of the plan views of Tahiti, 'Plano de Ysla de Amat llamada por sus naturales Otajeti'

[17] Joppien and Smith add that 'Elizabethan seamen certainly appreciated the value of coastal views [...]. An early advocate of coastal views was the Royal Society. In 1665, shortly after the Society's creation, it prepared a set of written instructions for seamen bound on long voyages. The fourth instruction required them 'to make Plotts and Draughts of prospects of Coasts, Promontories, Islands and Ports' (*Art of Captain Cook's Voyages*, p. xxxviii).

[18] Camino, *Producing the Pacific*, pp. 35–36.

[19] Neil Smith and Cindi Katz observe that colonialism 'is predicated on the deliberate, physical, cultural and symbolic appropriation of space' ('Grounding Metaphor: Towards a Spatialized Politics', in *Place and the Politics of Identity*, ed. by Michael Keith and Steve Pile (London: Routledge, 1993), pp. 67–83 (p. 70)).

[20] Stephen Greenblatt, *Marvelous Possessions: The Wonder of the New World* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991), p. 122.

[21] Michel de Certeau, *The Writing of History*, trans. by Tom Conley (New York: Columbia University Press, 1988), p. xxv.

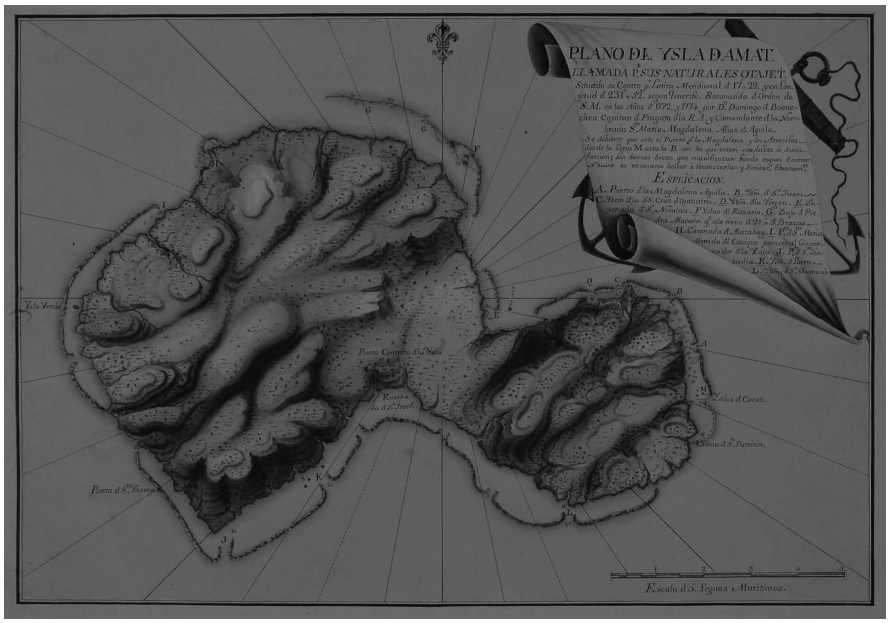

Fig. 2. Juan Hervé, 'Plano de Ysla de Amat llamada por sus naturales Otajeti' (Tahiti, 1772). Museo Naval, Madrid. Reproduced with permission.

(Fig. 2), offers a clear ninety-degree perspective of the island of Tahiti and displays in broad characters on the top a composite title that reflects the hierarchical syncretism underlying this voyage. We are presented with the given, imperial name of Amat in honour of the Viceroy under whose auspices the enterprise was launched. As usual within the colonial enterprise, this naming is part and parcel of the process of appropriation. As Tom Conley has rightly observed, 'Because the unknown was located by being *named*, it became a form of a relation rather than an unfathomable menace or delusion.'[22]

Thus, in this view, the Viceroy is the first and foremost figure to appear, coming even before the King, who is recognized in smaller writing as having given orders for the voyage: 'Reconocida de Orden de S. M'. Next, in line of priority, comes the captain of the fleet and the name of his ship, with the date of the journey, 'Don Domingo de Boenechea, Capitan de Fragata de la Armada y Comandante de la nombrada Aguila, 1772'. This writing, like the legend illustrating the main geographical and strategic points of the island, is placed on the

[22] Tom Conley, *The Self-Made Map: Cartographic Writing in Early Modern France* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996), p. 8.

right-hand corner, fitted within the gulf that splits Tahitian land into Tahiti Atu and Tahiti Nui.

This view, therefore, acknowledges that naming can be equated with appropriation. In this sense, the christening of the island is also an explicit act of possession, thereby ratifying Greenblatt's contention that '[t]he founding action of Christian imperialism is a christening'.[23] It is worth noting, however, that here the Spanish name is followed by the native Otajeti for O Tahiti. The native presence is acknowledged, although given a secondary place.[24] The prominence of the native name as an alternative also points to the fact that the naming of the island as Isla de Amat was to some extent a meaningless ritual — it had already been named St George or King George by Wallis in 1766 and would be named Nouvelle Cythère by Louis Antoine de Bougainville a few months later.[25] In fact, in this case naming seems to be given in conformity with a well-worn Christian and proto-imperial tradition, but one that is already perceived as transitory and of little significance.

This view of Tahiti also presents a large number of geographical features that have been given names largely following the religious criteria that became the hallmark of Spanish colonialism. As mentioned above, however, here there is also some acknowledgement of the presence of Tahitians and the mark they have made on the land. Such recognition of their presence and habitation of the island contrasts with the familiar emptiness of colonial North American maps or of the *terra nullius* that was Australia. In the map's legend, Tahitians are acknowledged in a reference to the harbour where their main chief lives, 'Puerto de Sta María donde vive el Cacique principal', which is found in (H), as well as the name Matabay for the 'Ensenada de Matabay' (G). This harbour, also detailed in a separate view, is one of the only places where the indigenous name has remained, the 'Plano de Enzenada de Matabay' (Fig. 3). Again, as with the naming of the island, native habitation is noted even though it is given a less important role than the arrival of European powers.

[23] Greenblatt, *Marvelous Possessions*, p. 83.

[24] In the views of the islands drafted by various artists voyaging with Cook, Tahiti is only named King George's Island, while the original indigenous names are the only ones preserved and recorded in the remaining islands. See the reproductions and analysis in Joppien and Smith, *Art of Captain Cook's Voyages*.

[25] Captain Samuel Wallis was in command of the expedition to the South Pacific which left in August 1766. Wallis was in command of the *Dolphin* and Lieutenant Philip Carteret of the *Swallow*. A few months later Louis Antoine de Bougainville sailed from France towards the Falklands and then the Pacific in command of the ships *Boudeuse* and *Etoile*.

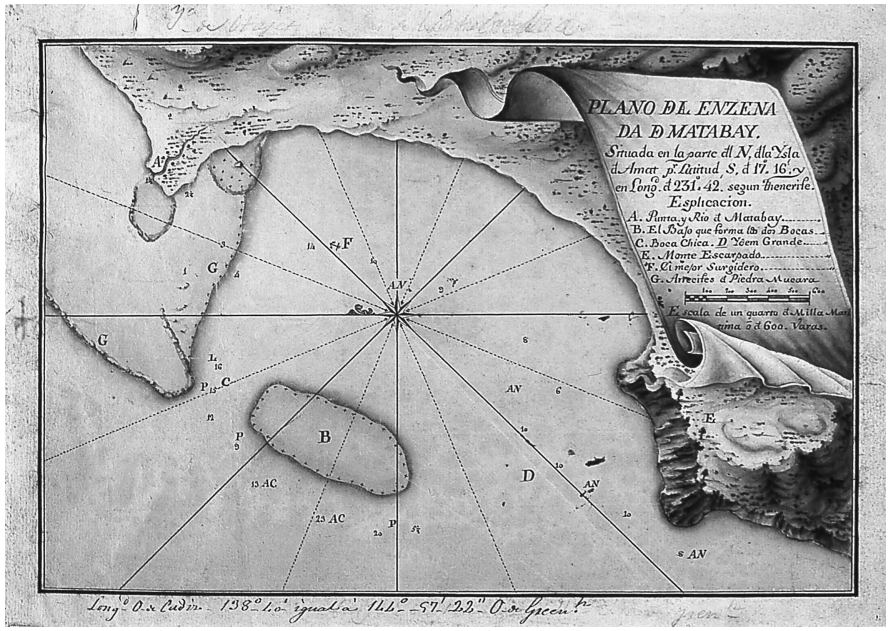
PLANO DE ENZENA
DA D MATABAY.
Situada en la parte del N. de la Isla
de Amat p. Latitud S. de 17. 16'. y
en Long. de 231. 42. segun Thenerife.
Esplicacion.
A. Punta y Rio de Matabay.
B. El Islote que forma las dos Bocas.
C. Boca Chica. D. Yeem Grande.
E. Monte Escarpado.
F. El mejor Surgidero.
G. Arrecifes de Piedra Muerta.
Escala de un quarto de Milla Mari
nma. o de 600. Varas.
Leng.d O. de Cad.n 138°. 1.' iguales 11.1°. 57'. 22." O. de Greenw.h

Fig. 3. Juan Hervé, 'Plano de Enzenada de Matabay'(Matavai, Tahiti, 1772). Museo Naval, Madrid. Reproduced with permission.

The zeal for baptizing and naming seen in these views is also conveyed in the narratives of the journey. To give an example, I quote at length a section from Pantoja's journal which follows closely the rationale of the views in its presentation of the Spanish or Christian name, followed by that given by the island's 'naturales'. In this account, Pantoja contradicts himself by giving the indigenous name of one island, Tupuae, while indicating that it had no name whatsoever. In this way, Pantoja at once admits local presence and culture, even as he dismisses and silences it:

> This island was given by its inhabitants the name Milagro [Miracle], and even though it has no name, it is referred to as Tupuae [...]. That one was called San Juan, and by its inhabitants Erua [...]. The island of San Simon is called Atapataitota [...]. The names of these islands and those that follow were given to us by an Indian whom we brought from Lima and who is a práctico [harbour pilot] of all of them. And he affirms that he has been in all of them with his canoes, but that he has not reached the Island of San Narciso [Tatakoto]. This means that he has seen all those we have discovered east of Otajiti, and he also affirms there are many more, because he has recorded eighteen of them. To know this was mere chance for us because, when our pilot was charting them, this Indian saw them [...] asked what it was, and was answered in his language. He did not need to know

> anything else but he sat down and said what I have mentioned above: that he had seen them all and registered them carefully and knew all their entries and reefs, which he explained after he was told in his own language about the four cardinal winds. Also, he knew the days that one could go from an island to another, using favourable winds.[26]

In Pantoja's inventory, the syncretism that applies to the names is also ratified by the affirmation that the 'Indian' informing him, Varvarua, is an ocular witness of what he is representing. The local informant is used by Pantoja as source and corroboration of his geographical information, thereby raising Varvarua's status and his knowledge above those of Pantoja himself in the eyes of his readers.

This is precisely the same procedure followed in the views of the places mentioned by Pantoja that were drafted by Hervé. In fact, the islands mentioned above are, by and large, represented individually in maps which reproduce the hierarchical compound naming. Thus the 'naturales' also come second in San Juan, the plan view of which is entitled 'Descripción de la Ysla de Sⁿ Juan. Por los naturales (Érua)', which is today's Hikueru (Fig. 4). Most of the remaining islands mentioned by Pantoja, which were discovered by Boenechea in 1774–75, also have views following the same design. Thus today's Motutunga, which was named San Julián, has a view entitled 'Descripcion de las Yslas de San Julian por los naturales Tabao' (Fig. 5). Likewise, Maurua's view is entitled 'Descripcion de la Ysla de Sⁿ Antonio por los naturales Maurua' (Fig. 6) and Matea, which was Sⁿ Diego for the Spaniards, 'Descripcion de la Ysla de Sⁿ Diego por los naturales Matea' (Fig. 7).

Though most of these islands were Christianized with the name of the saint of the day, not all were given religious names. For example, Manua was called Island of the Birds, 'Descripcion de la Ysla de Pajaros por los naturales Ysla Manua' (Fig. 8), and Teturoa was, for reasons that are not explained in any of the journals, Island of the Three Brothers, 'Ysla de los tres Hermanos por los naturales Teturoa' (Fig. 9). Only one of the islands mentioned, San Narciso, which is today's Tatakoto, has a perspective view where the given Spanish name appears alone as 'Perspectiva de la Ysla Sⁿ Narciso' (Fig. 10). However, when the islands appear together they may come with both names (Fig. 11) or with one of them, based on a seemingly random selection of either the Tahitian or the Spanish name. This happens, for example, in the collection of the archipelago known today as the Society Islands, which are here grouped as 'Yslas del Archipielago de Otaheiti' (Fig. 12).

[26] Pantoja, 'Un diario inédito', p. 122; my translation.

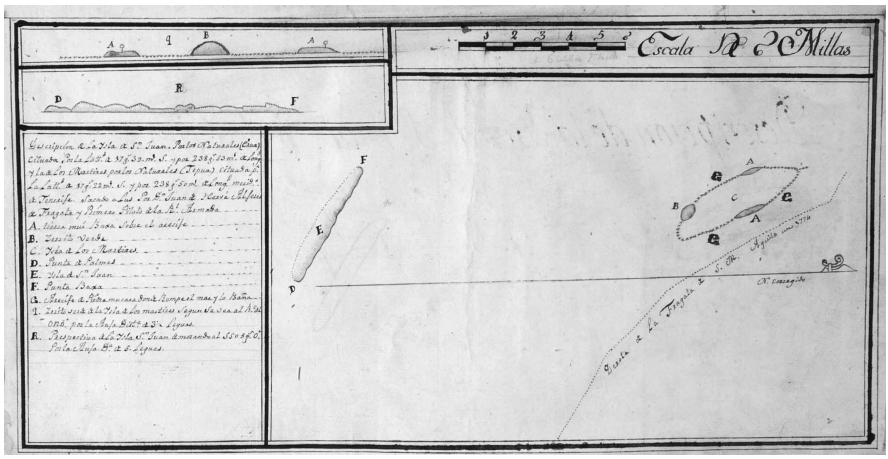
Escala de 2 Millas
Descripción de la Ysla de Sn Juan. Por los naturales (Érua)
A. Ysleta mui Baxa sobre el arrecife
B. Ysleta Alta
C. Yslas de los Arboles
D. Punta de Palmas
E. Isla de Sn Juan
F. Punta Baxa
Escala de 2 Millas

Fig. 4. 'Descripción de la Ysla de Sn Juan. Por los naturales (Érua)' (Hikueru, 1774–75). Museo Naval, Madrid. Reproduced with permission.

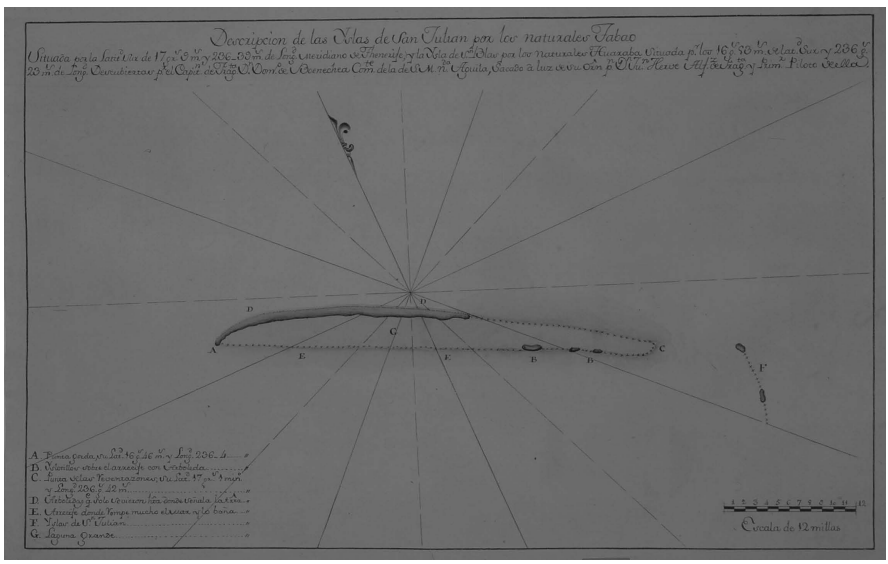
Descripcion de las Yslas de San Julian por los naturales Tabao
A. Punta onda, ya de Sn
B. Volumbo entre el arrecife con Cocoteros
C. Yslas ó Islas Pequeñas, ya de Sn
D. Cocoteros y dela Cayuca
E. Arrecife donde Tempe mucho el Mar y es bono
F. Ysla de Sn Julian
G. Laguna Grande
Escala de 12 millas

Fig. 5. 'Descripción de las Yslas de San Julian por los naturales Tabao' (Motutunga, 1774–75). Museo Naval, Madrid. Reproduced with permission.

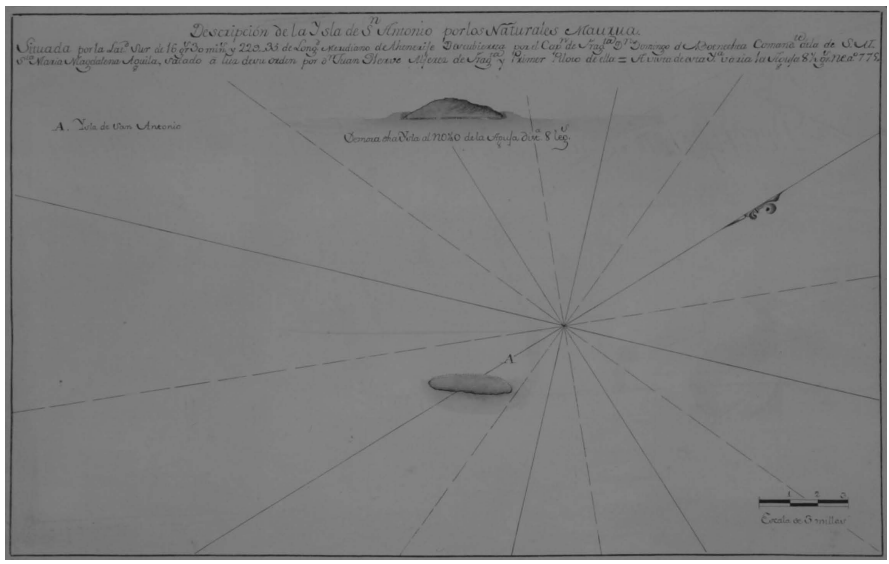

Fig. 6. 'Descripción de la Ysla de Sn Antonio por los naturales Maurua' (Maurua, 1774–75). Museo Naval, Madrid. Reproduced with permission.

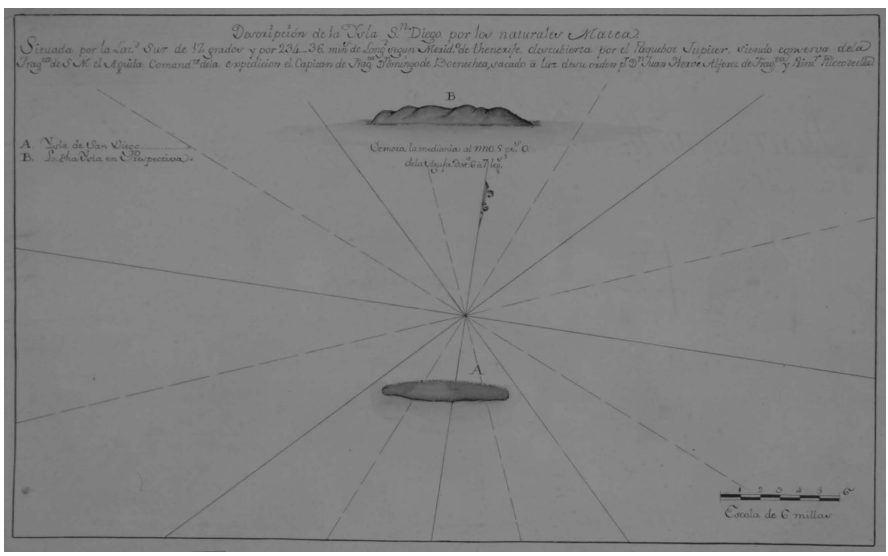

Fig. 7. 'Descripción de la Ysla de Sn Diego por los naturales Matea' (Matea, 1774–75). Museo Naval, Madrid. Reproduced with permission.

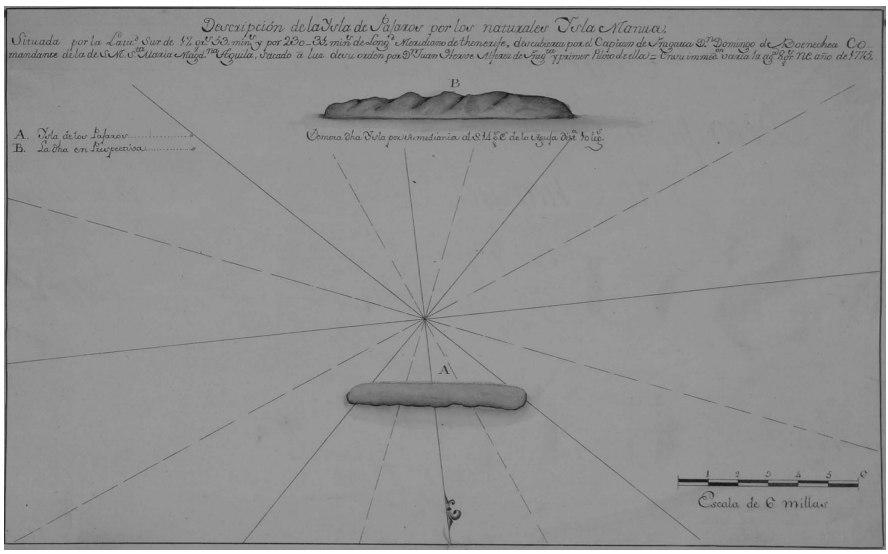
Descripción de la Ysla de Pajaros por los naturales Ysla Manua
Situada por la Lat.e Sur de 17 gr.s 53 min.s y por 220 gr.s 33 min.s de Long.d Meridiano de Themerife, descubierta por el Capitan de Fragata D.n Domingo de Boenechea Comandante de la de S.M. S.ta María Magd.na Aguila, fatiado á sus ordenes por D.n Juan Hervé Alfaro de Fag.a y primer Piloto de ella. Vista la Ysla S.gr.s NE. año de 1775.
A. Ysla de los Pajaros
B. La Isla en Perspectiva
B
Como dha Ysla por su mediania al S 41 E de la Aguila dist.a 9 leg.s
A
1 2 3 4 5 6
Escala de 6 millas

Fig. 8. 'Descripción de la Ysla de Pajaros por los naturales Ysla Manua' (Manua, 1774–75). Museo Naval, Madrid. Reproduced with permission.

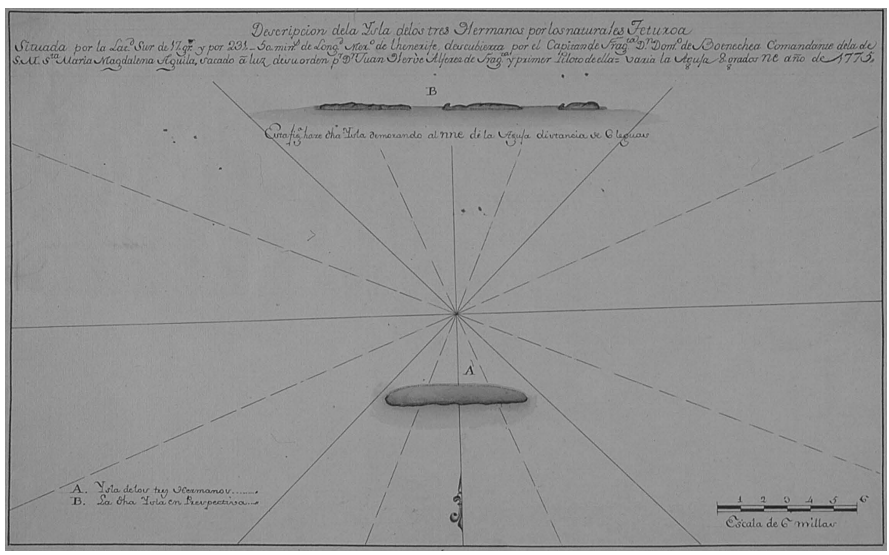
Descripcion dela Ysla delos tres Hermanos por los naturales Teturoa
Situada por la Lat.e Sur de 17 gr.s y por 203 gr.s 30 min.s de Long.d Mer.no de Themerife descubierta por el Capitan de Frag.a D.n Dom.o de Boenechea Comandante dela de S.M. S.ta María Magdalena Aguila, fatiado á sus ordenes D.n Juan Hervé Alfaro de Frag.a y primer Piloto de ella. Vista la Aguila 8 grados NE año de 1775.
B
Como dha Ysla demorando al NNE de la Aguila distancia de 6 leguas
A
A. Ysla de los tres Hermanos
B. La dha Ysla en Perspectiva
1 2 3 4 5 6
Escala de 6 millas

Fig. 9. 'Ysla de los tres Hermanos por los naturales Teturoa' (Teturoa, 1774–75). Museo Naval, Madrid. Reproduced with permission.

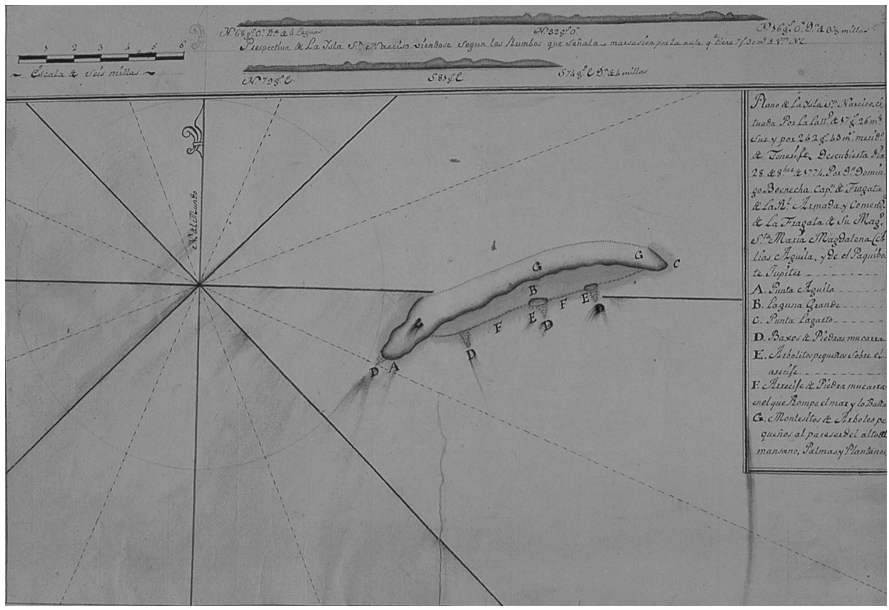

Fig. 10. 'Perspectiva de la Ysla S^{n} Narciso' (Tatakoto, 1774–75). Museo Naval, Madrid. Reproduced with permission.

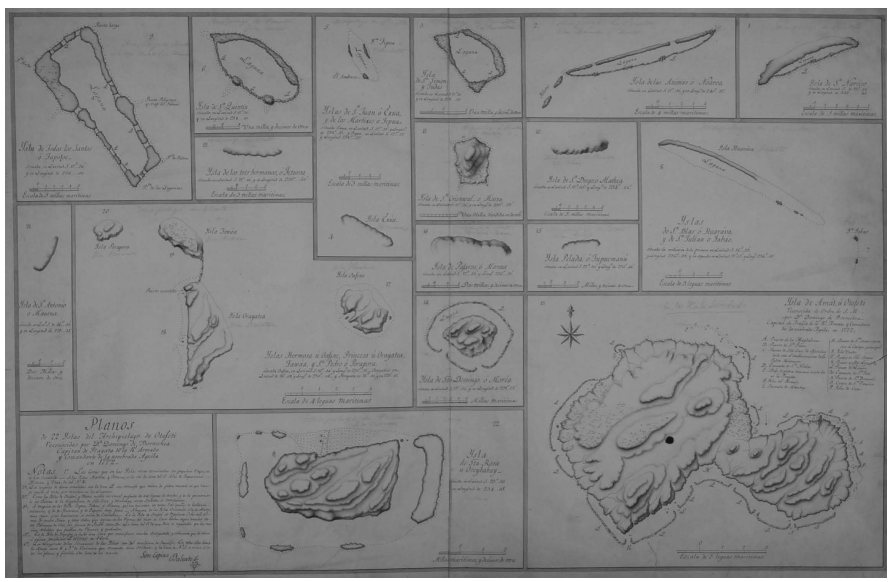

Fig. 11. 'Planos de 22 Yslas del Archipielago de Otajeiti' (Society Islands, 1774–75). Museo Naval, Madrid. Reproduced with permission.

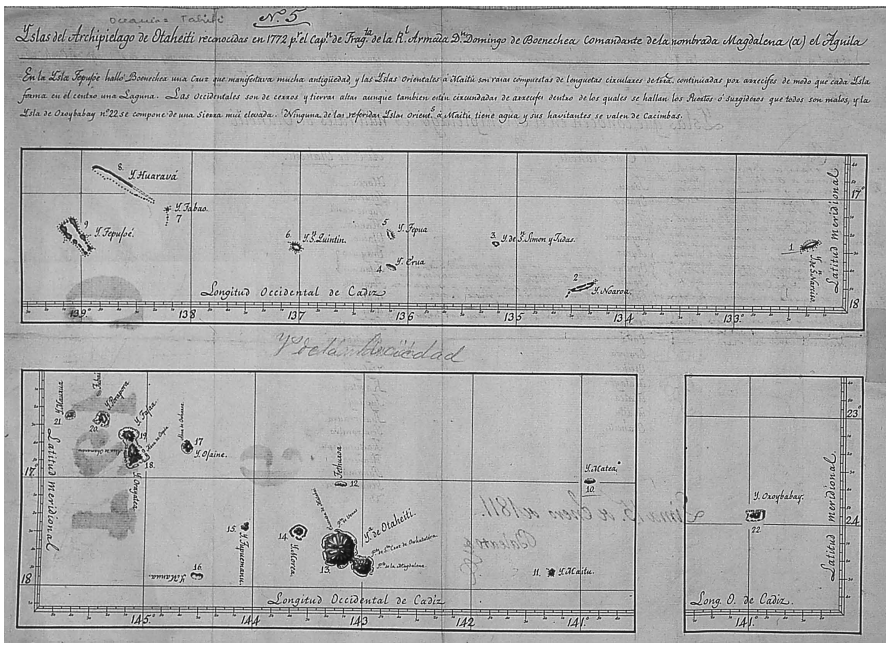
Yslas del Archipielago de Otaheiti reconocidas en 1772 p.r el Cap.n de Frag.a de la R.l Armada D.n Domingo de Boenechea Comandante de la nombrada Magdalena (a) el Aguila
Y. Huaraua
Y. Tubao.
Y. Tepuseé
Y. S.t Quintin.
Y. Tepua
Y. de S.n Simon y Judas
Y. Eroa
Y. Nairoa.
Y. de Sn Antonio
Latitud meridional
Longitud Occidental de Cadiz
Y. Ofaine.
Y. de Otaheiti.
Y. Matea.
Y. Oropheny.
Long. O. de Cadiz.

Fig. 12. 'Yslas del Archipielago de Otaheiti' (Tahiti, 1774–75). Museo Naval, Madrid. Reproduced with permission.

Both Pantoja and Hervé, then, use the same mixed appellation that acknowledges but relegates indigenous presence. Moreover, Pantoja's list is interesting not only for the way it charts the processes of naming and incorporating foreign lands into the European (in this case Spanish) paradigm, but also, and perhaps more importantly, for his overt acknowledgment of indigenous knowledge. In fact, as also happened in James Cook's voyages, Pantoja uses the remarkable acquaintance of the man to whom he grants a degree of respect as a local pilot ('práctico de todas estas Yslas'). Thus the resulting narrative, like the charts of the islands that Pantoja mentions the pilot is drawing, relies on local information and is, to some extent, part of a cross-cultural engagement in which Europeans adopted local knowledge.[27]

[27] This was clearly the case with Tupaia's map. Tupaia, a local Tahitian, drew a map which is not extant, but which is preserved in a copy at the British Library, and was also printed by Georg Foster in his account of the voyage.

An impressive view of one the island's harbours, Tautira, corroborates the points made about the exemplification of the cross-cultural dimensions embedded in these maps and narratives. The plan view of the 'Puerto de la SS. Cruz de Ojatutira' (Harbour of the Holy Cross of Ojatutira, Fig. 13) offers a ninety-degree perspective of the landmarks, as well as a bird's-eye view depiction at eye level of the mountains and landscape in the island. As in other views, indigenous presence is given secondary recognition in the name, as well as in the mention of other features. Nonetheless, the legend mostly refers to strategic points such as harbours, reefs, number of fathoms, sweet water, and coconut islands. This is also the case in another view of the same harbour (Fig. 14), as well as in that of the port of Taiarapu which the Spaniards called Saint Maria Magdalena or El Águila (Fig. 15) and also in the view of Matabay seen above (Fig. 3).

Perhaps as important as the islanders' marks on their land are the records of the presence of other European powers: in this case, the English and the French. This acknowledges the fact that it was the exploration of 'the Spanish lake' by those European ships, especially the British, which acted as catalyst for these expeditions. Amat's instructions emphasized that fact, and it is therefore not surprising to find that foreign presence is given prominence in another view of Tahiti (Fig. 16). As in other plan or perspective views, the panorama presented in this set of views, which total thirty-six, is apprehended all at once: it is encompassed by the eye of the individual point of view from which they are drawn, and which is shared by the observer. As I have argued in relation to early modern city views, elevation renders the viewer, assumed to be masculine, a voyeur and implicates him in a fantasy of appropriation.[28] Elevated views also give the impression that observers may be able to stand in the position traditionally occupied by the eye of God; they participate in the apprehension of humans as individuals located at the centre of the universe and in the bolstering of individualism associated with perspective viewing. The point from which such a perspective is drawn is that of an individual artist and viewer.

[28] This viewer, who contemplates the landscape before him, is gendered as masculine and his position, the views suggest, may be occupied by any viewer holding the plan before him. This was clearly spelled out in Albert Dürer's famous *Draughtsman Doing Perspective Drawing of a Reclining Woman*, where woman and landscape are clearly identified and objectified for the viewer. On the engenderment of geography in general and the example provided by that image see especially Gillian Rose, *Feminism and Geography: The Limits of Geographical Knowledge* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1993), pp. 93–99; Mercedes Maroto Camino, 'Producing the City: Bird's-Eye Views and Social Control in Hapsburg Spain', *Cartographica*, 36 (1999), 17–30.

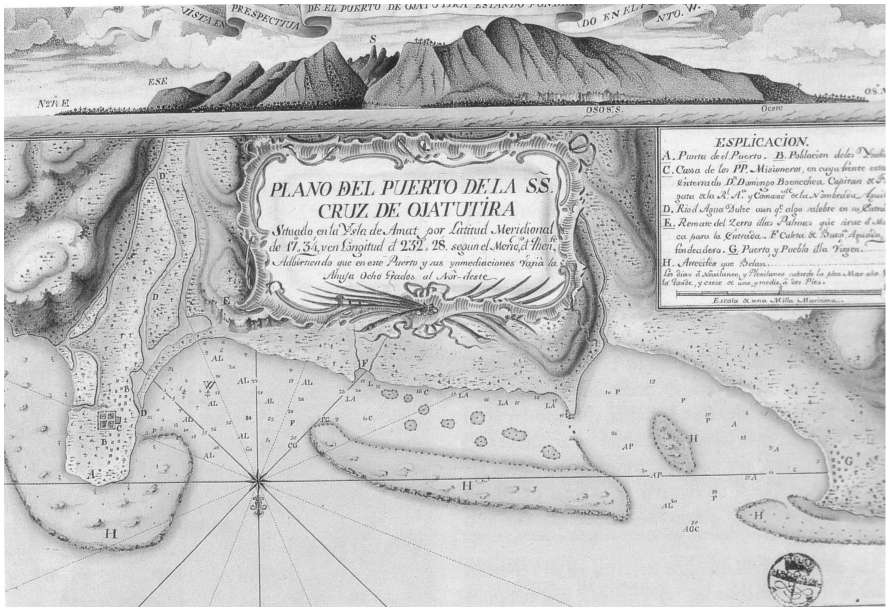
PLANO DEL PUERTO DE LA SS.
CRUZ DE OJATUTIRA
Situado en la Ysla de Amat por Latitud Meridional
de 17. 34. ven Longitud d 232. 28. segun el Meridiano
Adbirtiendo que en este Puerto y sus inmediaciones Varia la
Aguja Ocho Grados al Nor-Oeste
ESPLICACION.
Escala de una Milla Marinera

Fig. 13. 'Puerto de la SS. Cruz de Ojatutira' (Tautira, Tahiti, 1772). Museo Naval, Madrid. Reproduced with permission.

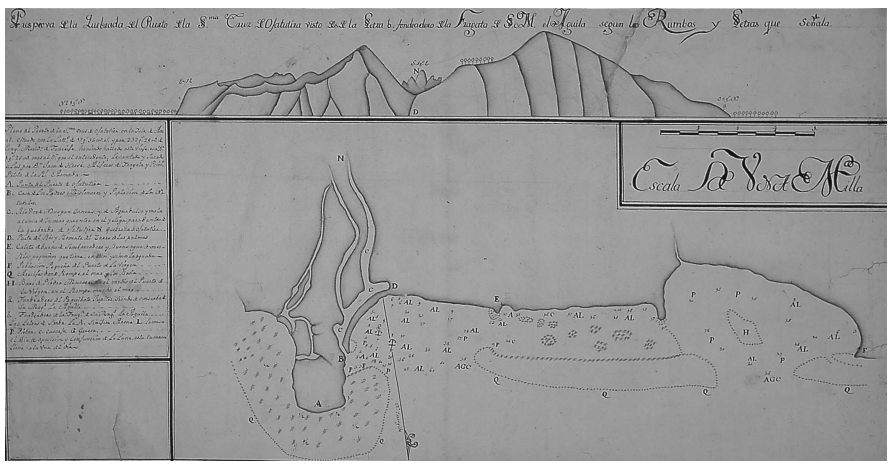

Fig. 14. 'Perspectiva de la Quebrada del Puerto de la Cruz de Ojatutira [...]' (Tautira, Tahiti, 1772). Museo Naval, Madrid. Reproduced with permission.

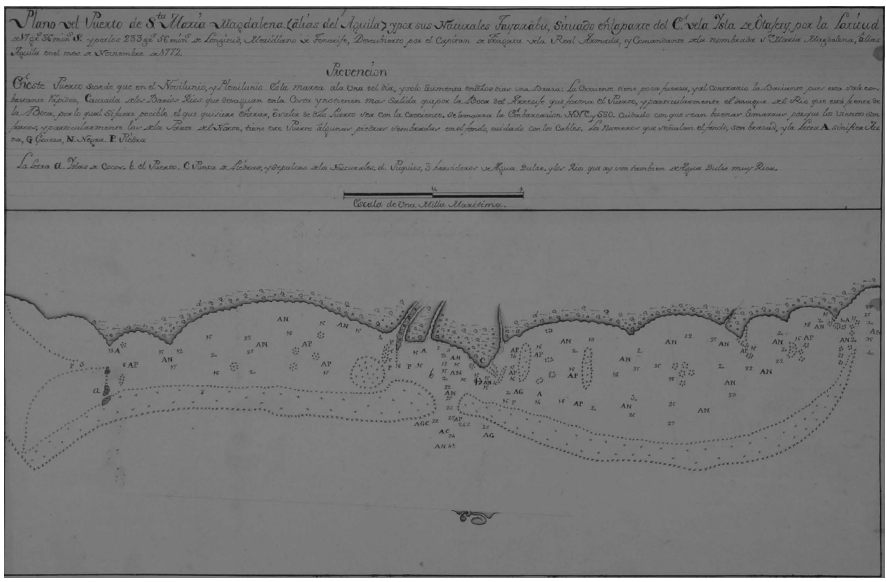

Fig. 15. 'Plano del Puerto de Sta Maria Magdalena (alias del Águila) [...]' (Taiarapu, Tahiti, 1772). Museo Naval, Madrid. Reproduced with permission.

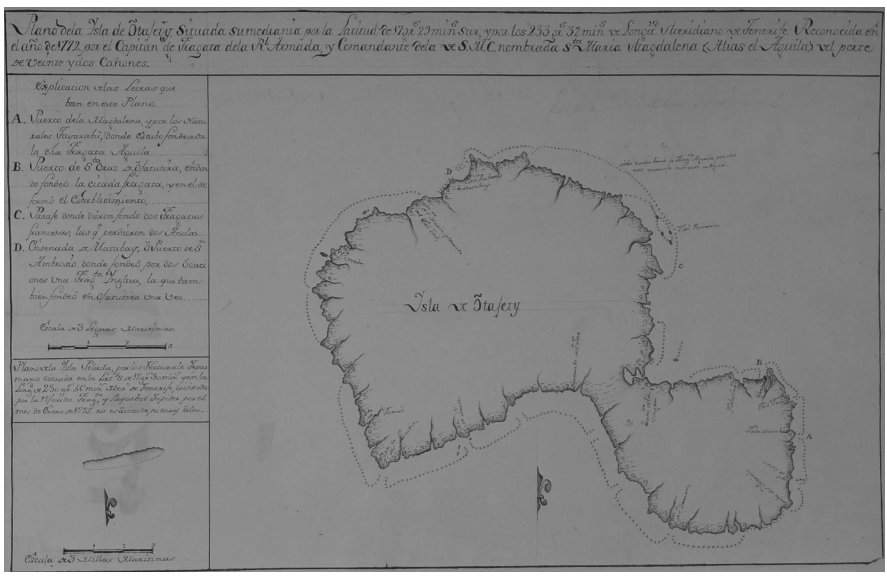

Fig. 16. 'Plano de la Ysla de Otajeity [...]' (Tahiti, 1772). Museo Naval, Madrid. Reproduced with permission.

In this case, the raised point of view is the most convenient position for empowering vision. The view from above also implies that all the inhabitants may be perceived as anonymous beings, with their trajectories clearly visible to the mapper and/or viewer.[29] An obvious, immediate suggestion conveyed by these views is that everybody within the island may be part of the view's design and field of vision. Their movements and settlements, it is assumed, can be measured, controlled, and determined.

In spite of the fact that there appear some references that record indigenous names and habitation, these views present the islands as targets for appropriation and they seem to be largely uninhabited or uncivilized. The significant reduction or deletion of obvious signs of human habitation or civilization in the views of these Pacific islands renders them effectively ready for occupation and settlement. The views fail to convey the level of settlement and cultivation of the islands, especially of a place such as Tahiti. The resulting relation of dominance is therefore embedded in the relationship of power inherent in the production of maps of colonial or proto-colonial territories, as Brian Harley forcefully argues.[30] Moreover, the apparent emptiness of the landscape, as Harley has observed, is an idiosyncrasy of maps.[31] This feature serves various designs, including colonial occupation:

[29] This point of view is, as Lucia Nuti has shown, the more suitable position for empowering vision. In relation to the views in the *Civitates orbis terrarum*, Nuti notes that '[Georg] Braun, detailing the optimum for the city views of his book, appears more than conscious of what is expected of a good mapper at that moment: to rise from the ground [...] and render that view from above, in a way that could be legible to the eye. For that purpose [...] the land was surveyed from an angle-shot of about 30 to 60 degrees [...] when the mapper reaches a 90 degree angle (the zenith), the eye will lose its power again' ('The Map Views of Georg Hoefnagel: The Merchant's Eye, the Humanist's Eye', *Word and Image*, 4 (1988), 545–70 (p. 547)).

[30] J. Brian Harley's definition, which highlights the intimate relationship between maps and the Foucauldian paradigm of power/knowledge, has stimulated the interpretive work in the History of Cartography of the past decades. Maps are, according to Harley, 'a way of conceiving, articulating, and structuring the human world which is biased towards, promoted by, and exerts influence upon particular sets of social relations' ('Maps, Knowledge, Power', in *The Iconography of Landscape: Essays on the Symbolic Representation, Design and Use of Past Environments*, ed. by Denis Cosgrove and Stephen Daniels (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), pp. 277– 312 (p. 278)). A coherent summary of the definitions of maps and mapping is given by Harley and David Woodward, 'The Map and the Development of the History of Cartography', in *The History of Cartography*, I: *Cartography in Prehistoric, Ancient, and Medieval Europe and the Mediterranean*, ed. by J. B. Harley and David Woodward (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), pp. 1–42.

[31] In relation to the eighteenth century, Matthew Edney, *Mapping an Empire: The Geographical Construction of British India, 1765–1843* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997),

> Maps as an impersonal type of knowledge tend to 'desocialize' the territory they represent. They foster the notion of a socially empty space. The abstract quality of the map [...] lessens the burden of conscience about people in the landscape. Decisions about the exercise of power are removed from the realm of immediate face-to-face contacts.[32]

The narratives on which we rely for an understanding of the Tahitians at this time share these same absences or shortcomings. Europeans were, by and large, far removed from understanding the cultures they encountered. One exception, as mentioned above, was Máximo Rodríguez, who knew the Tahitian language and acted as an interpreter, and could be classed as a mediator between two cultures.[33] Máximo's narrative of the year he spent on the 'mission', like the remaining material related to these voyages, is not well known today, though it was familiar to James Cook and his contemporaries. To quote Cook's words:

> When these ships left the island, four Spaniards remained behind. Two were priests, one a servant, and the fourth made himself very popular among the natives, who distinguish him by the name of Mateema. He seems to have been a person who had studied their language, or at least to have spoken it so as to be understood; and to have taken uncommon pains to impress the minds of the islanders with the most exalted ideas of the greatness of the Spanish nation, and to make them think meanly of the English.[34]

Nevertheless, Máximo remains one of the keenest recorders of Tahitian life at the time, something that might have been facilitated by the fact that he was a colonial Peruvian, probably of mixed ancestry.

One of the first things that Máximo did upon settling on the island was to change names with one of the natives, the brother of the *ari'i* Tu, Hinoi, or, as he writes, the 'Eri Otú Jinoy'.[35] Máximo, who indicates that he was twenty at

offers a nuanced study of the process of empire building in relation to surveying practices in the Indian subcontinent.

[32] Harley, 'Maps, Knowledge, Power', p. 303.

[33] As Oliver Berghof remarks, from all the eighteenth-century visitors to the island, 'One visitor who came close to comprehending Tahitians during this decade was a young Peruvian, Máximo Rodríguez, who stayed on Tahiti for almost a year, from 15 November 1774 until 12 November 1775' ('Tahiti 1767–1777: The View from the Shore', in *Interpreting Colonialism*, ed. by Byron R. Wells and Philip Stewart, Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century (SVEC), 9 (Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 2004), pp. 67–89 (p. 70).

[34] James Cook, *A Voyage to the Pacific Ocean*, 2 vols (London: John Stockdale, 1784), p. 76. In the introduction to his translation of Máximo's journal, Corney also cites the praise accorded to Máximo by two surgeons travelling with Cook, William Anderson and David Samwell: *Quest and Occupation*, III, pp. xv–xvi and xvii.

[35] As in the case of Tahiti being presented as Otajeti, the particle *o* is incorporated into his name. *Eri* is the way the Spaniards recorded the word for chief: *ari'i.*

the time, has no problem indicating that he finds his friend quite attractive and describes him as a 'young man of sixteen years old more or less who has good appearance and stature'.[36] The traditional exchange of names in which he participates is, for Máximo, a local 'finesse'. He affirms that 'after a little while he [Hinoi] acknowledged me as his brother and his parents as their son, and so the rest of the relatives, since he changed his name with mine, which is the greatest finesse among them'.[37]

Alongside the views presented, the exchange of names between Hinoi and Máximo illustrates the creation of what Mary Louise Pratt has described as a 'contact zone' within the colonial setting. However, these 'contacts' also corroborate and even materialize the power relationships that inhere in the colonial process. Present in these zones, according to Pratt, is the participant observer, who 'treats the relations among colonizers and colonized, or travellers and "travelees", not in terms of separateness or apartheid, but in terms of copresence, interaction, interlocking understandings and practices, often within radically asymmetrical relations of power'.[38]

As aforementioned, the Spanish-Tahitian 'contact zone' was created out of an encounter which was more reciprocal than the norm, partly due to the isolation of the Spaniards from their fellow countrymen once their ship left. In fact, the Spaniards largely depended on the goodwill of the locals and on their own ability to maintain a good relationship with them. As translator and mediator, Máximo negotiated these terms rather successfully on behalf of his countrymen. While he provided a detailed written record of the encounter, Máximo was by no means the only Spanish person to record the cross-cultural exchange in terms that acknowledged the indigenous Tahitians as intelligent human beings, and even favourably comparable to Europeans. His contemporary Pantoja also mentions in his narrative the signs of friendship he shared with the indigenous population, as well as his willingness to partake in the ceremonial sharing of food by eating from someone's

[36] Rodríguez, *Españoles en Tahití*, p. 46.

[37] Rodríguez, *Españoles en Tahití*, p. 46. As Anne Salmond observes, 'Tu took Maximo as taio, or ceremonial friend, changing names with him and declaring that he was his brother' ('Cross-Cultural Voyaging: The First Spanish Visits to Tahiti', *Mains'l Haul: A Journal of Pacific Maritime History*, 41 (2005), 54–65 (p. 64)). There is a further reference to this exchange later on in the text, when Máximo asserts that Hinoi 'es el que se ha tomado mi nombre dandome el suyo' (p. 177). Máximo also refers to sharing his bedroom with his 'brother' (pp. 205, 206, 207).

[38] Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (London: Routledge, 1992), p. 7.

hand.[39] Likewise, Andía y Varela observes that food is an integral part of the gift exchange that, as ever so often in these encounters, consolidates a dialogical relationship between the outsiders and the locals.

These signs would indicate that there was a good level of reciprocal engagement and exchange, exemplified and sealed by ceremonial gift-giving as well as by ritual changes of names. Yet, as with the coastal views, the Spaniards by and large considered their culture to be a higher grade of civilization than that of the people they encountered. Moreover, they were also aware that, unless the fears of the Padres about being offered as sacrificial victims to the Tahitians' *atua* were realized, they would eventually leave the island to return to their civilization. Much like contemporary ethnographers, they knew well that their home was elsewhere, in their 'civilized' countries.

As seen in the maps and narratives looked at in this paper, the Spanish-Tahitian cross-cultural exchanges were never fully reciprocal, creating a relationship that assumed European superiority even while the Spanish depended on the locals for food and knowledge. In spite of the fact that they were not relying on a favourable balance of power, all visitors, including Máximo, took for granted their cultural superiority. As Oliver Berghof sums up, 'Although Rodríguez stayed considerably longer, he remained associated with the visible token of European power, a ship taller and more deadly than any the Tahitians were able to build themselves, and one which they were told would return.'[40]

Although the eighteenth century witnessed an increasing curiosity to observe other cultures and present them in a detached, objective manner, most Europeans did not consider they could learn much from their hosts in terms of religious beliefs and scientific knowledge. In the case of Tahiti, the diaries and references demonstrate their attempt to observe and interpret others. As the Tahitians who travelled to Europe and South America proved, they could be worldly wise and show respect for the customs of others. In fact, as Salmond sums up, Tahitians such as the men who travelled to Peru, Omai, Tupaia, or Ahutoru (who travelled

[39] Rodríguez, *Españoles en Tahití*, pp. 131 and 165.

[40] Berghof, 'Tahiti 1767–1777', p. 71. Berghof further wonders whether, in fact, detachment allows for the voice of the other to be heard, suggesting that it does. In relation to Forster's report of the testimony of one Tahitian called Mahine, Berghof affirms that the tone 'is characteristic of the scientific strand in Forster's narrative, where the observer often detaches himself from the observation. In doing so, in reporting more fully than other travellers, and in attempting to catch the meaning of every word Forster creates a space in which the words of the natives can flourish, a space in which we can hear the Tahitians talk back.'

with Cook and Bougainville respectively) displayed a considerable level of local knowledge, as well as curiosity:

> From the evidence of these voyages, it seems that the exchanges between Tahitian and European navigators were characterized by a kind of intelligibility. In the beginning, each drew upon their own familiar practices to make sense of the other. For the Europeans, the maritime practice of using local pilots to guide ships into unknown harbours gave a precedent for drawing upon the expertise of island navigators.[41]

Thus, Salmond observes, Tahitians proved to be quite capable of incorporating foreign knowledge into their way of understanding.[42] This often contrasted with Europeans, who frequently dismissed Tahitian knowledge as superstitious. Consequently, at times 'the islanders are rendered passive, mastered by their own myths or acting as bit-players in European dramas while their own accounts are trivialized or ignored'.[43]

However, as seen in this paper, the assumed superiority of Europeans could be a mere cliché, for we can see appreciation for indigenous expertise and presence both in the bird's-eye views of the islands and in the narratives of the voyages. Pantoja's recognition of the acumen of the indigenous people exemplifies the contradictions. He comments that the Tahitians had agreed to give land for the construction of the mission because the newcomers had not attempted to harm them in any way. Pantoja admits their reasoning to be sound, and that this presents a challenge to the Spaniards' own system of beliefs. His assessment offers a living proof against the consideration that those who did not share that system could be considered inferior in the scale of civilization: 'I do not think they can be called barbarians in everything, but only in that they do not love our religion, because the way of thinking and elucidating is far different from what we had assumed it would be.'[44]

The Tahitians, Pantoja admits in these words, have challenged some assumptions made about them and can teach Europeans that, even if alien to them, the

[41] Anne Salmond, 'Their Body is Different, Our Body is Different: European and Tahitian Navigators in the Eighteenth Century', *History and Anthropology*, 16 (2005), 167–86 (p. 181).

[42] Salmond 'Cross-Cultural Voyaging', p. 65.

[43] Salmond, 'Their Body is Different', p. 183.

[44] Pantoja, 'Un diario inédito', p. 143. Pantoja also wonders about the suitability of the term *barbarian* when he hears a 'mozo' (lad) reason about warring tactics. He concludes that the lad in question is clever and he is not even the most intelligent among Tahitians: 'Should there be a reason to call this lad a barbarian? And he is not even one of the most skilled or knowledgeable' (p. 162).

Tahitian mode of thinking and reasoning can be as valid as their own. Even if only for a moment, Pantoja expresses the cultural relativism that makes this journey a unique encounter in a 'contact zone'. As in his recognition of the role of his 'native informant' in the description or the island or seen in the bird's-eye views looked at in this paper, Pantoja's words express some of the paradoxes inherent in these cross-cultural translations. The Spanish-Tahitian exchanges were never fully reciprocal. However, as Salmond concludes, 'these expeditions were collaborative accomplishments, to which men like Tupaia and Puhoro and their knowledge systems made significant contributions'.[45]

As seen in the journals and bird's-eye views of the Society Islands looked at in this essay, the acknowledgment and dismissal of indigenous lore reveal the contradictions inherent in much of the eighteenth century's approach to other lands. In a way, therefore, the views foreshadow the settlement that followed these discoveries. They thus stand as witnesses of the paradoxes of belonging and not belonging to Europe or to the Pacific. This cross-cultural engagement could have been furthered by recognizing that there are always, to borrow James Boon's construction, 'other tribes' and 'other scribes'.[46]

[45] Salmond, 'Their Body is Different', p. 183.

[46] Boon, *Other Tribes, Other Scribes*.

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